Faction Supplanted:

OR,

A CAVEAT againſt the Eccleſiaſticall and Secular REBELL:

In two parts.

1. A Diſcourſe concerning the Nature, Properties and Practiſes of *Rebells.*
2. Againſt the inconſtancy and inconſiſtent contrariety of the ſame Mens Pretenſions and Practiſes, Principles and Doctrines.

By a Lover of Peace.

Printed for *R. Royſton* Bookſeller to His Sacred MAJESTY. 1663.

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Harvey, Christopher

To the Honourable

Sir *Geoffery Palmer*

Knight and Baronet,

HIS

Majesties Atturney General.

SIR,

IT *is not for any* private ends, *that I now make bold to* preſent *this* Treatiſe *unto you*, *but out of a* confident perſwaſion, *that*, *as the* publick proſecution *of* Rebels *doth in a* ſpecial manner *appertain unto you*, *in reſpect of that* Honourable imployment, *which you moſt* deſervedly *have for the* Kings moſt Excellent Majeſty, *ſo there is no man* better able, *or more* willing, *to* ſtate *and* determine *all things a-*

bout Rebellion *aright, and ſo none fitter to paſſe an* approbation, *or* cenſure, *upon that which I have written concerning the* Nature *of* Rebellion, *together with the* properties *and* practices *of* Rebels, *in order to the true uſe of the* Name. *Perhaps in reſpect of the* matter *contained in it, this* Treatiſe *might have* ſeen *the* light *more* ſeaſonably, *as ſoon as it was* penned, *although not ſo* ſafely, *either for the* Author, *the* Printer, *or the* Publiſher, *the* Uſurpers *of* pretended Authority, *with other* Actors *and* Abetters *of* Rebellious practices, opinions *and* principles, *being then too* potent, *and too* prevalent: *Yet I hope the* publication *of it now, though* ſixteen years *after, may be* profitable, *in reſpect of the* end *intended in it:*

which

which is, That axes may be laid to the roots of that Rebellion, the body and branches whereof are happily thrown down, and trodden under foot. *Unto which* end *if this, or any of my other Writings ſhall prove* inſtrumental, *I will bleſſe God for it, and think my ſelf ſo much the more* obliged *to pray for an* happy confluence, continuance, *and* increaſe *of all imaginable* comforts *to his* Majeſties Royal perſon, *and all his* Loyal people: *amongſt whom you are, and alwayes have been, ſo* remarkably eminent, *that you are* highly honoured *by them all, and in particular by*

Your very humble Servant,

Chriſtopher Harvey.

A Catalogue of ſome new Books Printed for R. Royſton.

THE *Counſel which the Biſhop of* Exceſter *delivered to* XLIV. *Presbyters and Deacons, after they had been Ordained by him (with the aſſiſtance of other grave Miniſters) in the Cathedral Church of* Exceſter, *after the Primitive, Catholick and lawful Way of the Church of* England.

Elenchus Motuum Nuperorum in Anglia. *Geo. Batio* M. D. *Regia Majeſtatis Proto-medico.*

The Syracuſan *Tyrant; or the life of* Agathocles, *with ſome Reflexions on the practices of our Modern Uſurpers.* New.

A PREFACE TO THE READERS,

SHEWING

The Time when, the Occaſion whereupon, this TREATISE was written, with the *Authors* intent and purpoſe in it.

Chriſtian Readers,

THis Treatiſe, being finiſhed April 3. 1645. *was written at that time, when the* King, *and thoſe that called themſelves* the Parliament, *were more equally poiſed, in reſpect of Power, then at other times: and then the crime of* Rebellion *was mutually charged by either party on the other, with confidence enough on both ſides, although without any good reaſon on the one. Impoſible it was that both ſhould be in the right, and therefore I thought it very neceſſary, that it ſhould be made appear, which was in the wrong. I do not mean unto my ſelf, who was alwayes ſufficiently ſatisfied in that particular:*

particular: but unto others, by whom it was either denyed or doubted of. To this purpoſe the beſt expedient *I made account would be a* Treatiſe *tending to diſcover the true uſe of the* Name, *by the* Nature *of* Rebellion, *together with the* properties *and* practices *of* Rebels, *ſo far forth only, as they are* obſervable *in* holy Scripture, *without any* inference *at all thereupon, or* application *thereof, with reſpect unto* particulars. *Otherwiſe I did fear, that* prejudice *and* partiality, *which all men are too prone unto, would be apt to render the* work ineffectual *to them, who had greateſt need to make good uſe of it:* Self-intereſt *commonly making men very unwilling to look upon any thing as* truth, *which they perceive before-hand intended to be a means of diſcovering their own, either* errours *or* enormities. *Though* Ahab *confeſſed unto* Jehoſhaphat, that *Micaiah* the ſon of *Imlah* was one, by whom they might enquire of the Lord, *yet he was not aſhamed to ſay,* I hate him, for he doth not propheſie good concerning me, but evill, 1 King. 22. 8. *And it ſeemeth St.* Paul *had experience*

rience of the like dealing amongſt the Galatians, *when he ſaid*, Am I therefore become your enemy, becauſe I tell you the truth? Gal. 4. 16. *Our Saviour himſelf gives the reaſon of it, Joh.* 3. 20. For every one that doth evill, hateth the light, neither cometh to the light, leſt his deeds ſhould be reproved. *I remember that our Saviour, when he ſent forth his* Apoſtles *as* Sheep in the midſt of Wolves, *required of them* Serpentine wiſdom, *as well as* Dovelike harmeleſneſs, *Matth.* 10. 16. *And that St.* Paul *ſaid of himſelf to the* Corinthians, Being crafty, I caught you with guile, 2 Cor. 12. 16. *I thought it might be a queſtion, Whether* David *would ſo ſoon have confeſſed of himſelf*, I have ſinned againſt the Lord? 2 Sam. 12. 13. *if* Nathan *had not firſt wrought upon him by a* Parable, *and brought him to condemn himſelf unawares, when he thought he paſſed ſentence on another man. Therefore I hoped it might be a good advantage to the* cauſe *for which I was ingaged, if I could get my* propoſition *intertained, before*

before I gave any occaſion to them that were moſt concerned, to ſuſpect what I intended to aſſume upon it.

Theſe Conſiderations *led me on to the* writing *of this* Treatiſe, *and to do it in this manner*; *with a* reſolution *to* forbear, *as much as I could, all* exaſperatimg phraſes, *and* terms *of* provocation: *which are apter to* alienate *the* affections *of* men, *then to* rectifie *their* underſtandings. *When I had done, I ſent a Copy of it unto* London, *to try whether any man would adventure to* publiſh *it: but it returned unto me, as* Noahs *Dove did into the Ark,* when ſhe found no reſt for the ſole of her foot, becauſe the Waters were on the face of the whole earth, Geneſ. 8. 9. *Then I drew out another Copy, and let them both paſſe abroad thorow many* private hands, *in hope they might do ſome good that way. One of them at laſt being come into the hands of one who is now* reſolved *to put it to the* Preſſe, *I have thought it not amiſs, by way of* Preface, *to premiſe thus much*

much, and to intreat you, Christian Readers, *that if you finde I have in* prosecution *of the* passages *which lay before me, inserted such* interpretations *of some places of* Scripture, *as are not usual, you will not interpret it* presumption *in me, since I only* propound *them but as* probable, *and leave the further* consideration *of them unto others of better* abilities.

And whereas, The new Phanatique, *is placed in the top of every other page, as running* parallel *to* The Right Rebel, *it was not done by my* direction, *but had I known its being so* intended *in time, I should have endeavoured to* prevent *it: because I conceive that name too* narrow *to be used as* equivalent *to* the Right Rebel. *Which I would have to be understood as* comprehending *all both* old *and* new Phanatiques, *yea all* Schismatical Sectaries, *and* Seditious Separatists *of what sort soever, who are not, as they ought to be, both* Loyal Subjects *of the* Crown, *and* obedient Sons *of the* Church *of* England. *For I intended this* Treatise *should be as a*

perpetual

perpetual Almanack, *or* univerſal Prognoſtication, *calculated for all* Meridians *of* Rebellion, *where and whenſoever, as I purpoſe to manifeſt more fully hereafter in a* Poſtſcript *annexed.*

The Stationer to the Reader.

THe abſence of the *Author*, and his incovenient diſtance from *London*, hath occaſioned ſome leſſer eſcapes in this Treatiſe: The *Stationer* thinks it the beſt inſtance of pardon, if the eſcapes be not laid on the *Author*, and he hopes they are no greater then an ordinary underſtanding may amend, and a little Charity may forgive.

R. Royſton.

The *Contents* of the ſeveral *Sections*.

SECT. I.

THe *end and uſe of* names. *God careful that things ſhould not be miſcalled. An Introduction to the enſuing diſcourſe* pag. 1

SECT. II.

Rebels, Rebellious, Rebellion, to rebel, *words borrowed from the Latine* Rebellare. *Four Hebrew words in the old Teſtament ſo rendred in our Engliſh Tranſlation* 6

SECT. III.

Rebellion *in Scripture uſed ſometimes in a larger, ſometimes in a ſtricter ſenſe. What Rebellion is*, 11

SECT. IV.

Rebellion *diverſly diſtinguiſhed in reſpect of the* ſubject, 15

SECT. V.

Rebellion *diverſly diſtinguiſhed in reſpect of the* adjuncts, 18

SECT. VI.

Rebellion *diverſly diſtinguiſhed in reſpect of the* object, 20

SECT. VII.

Rebellion *ſo called, either lawful or unlawful*, 24

SECT. VIII.

Rebellion *ſometimes ſo eſteemed by men not only lawful, but alſo neceſſary*, 28

SECT. IX.

Divers degrees of evil in Rebellion. Rebellion againſt God *a greater evil then Rebellion againſt men. Some rebellion againſt God worſe then other*, 32

SECT. X.

Evil greateſt in that Rebellion *againſt men, wherein God himſelf is moſt nearly concerned*, 35

SECT. XI.

Evil of Rebellion againſt men *aggravated by acceſs of the like circumſtances as Rebellion againſt God was*, 38

SECT. XII.

Properties *of* Rebels. *Affected ignorance ſet off with a plauſible pretence of Knowledge*, 41

SECT. XIII.

Inſinuation with others, and a dexterous activity in drawing adherents, 44

SECT. XIV.

Multiplication of tranſgreſſions by adding many ſins of ſeveral kinds together, 48.

SECT.

The Contents.

SECT. XV.

Diſſimulation & hypocriſie, 51

SECT. XVI.

Self-ſeeking, 56

SECT. XVII.

Self-confounding, 59

SECT. XVIII.

Practices *of* Rebels. *Of the King of* Sodom, *&c. Gen* 14. 4, &c. 66

SECT. XIX.

Of Korah *and his companions, Numb.* 16. 1, &c. 72

SECT. XX.

Of the Iſraelites, *Numb.* 20. 1, &c. 78

SECT. XXI.

Of Jeroboam *& the ten tribes*, 1 *King.* 12. 19, &c. 82

SECT. XXII.

Of Zedekiah, 2 *King.* 24. 20. 107

SECT. XXIII.

No intent of application to particulars: but an addition of ſomething concerning two Arch-rebels, *the Devil and Antichriſt*, 114

SECT. XXIV.

Of the arch-author of Rebellion the Devil, 117

SECT. XXV.

Of the arch-inſtrument of Rebellion the Antichriſt, 124

SECT. XXVI.

The Concluſion, 146

The *Contents* of the *Poſtſcript*.

SECT. I.

THe occaſion of the Authors writing this Poſtſcript, and his purpoſe in it, 149

SECT. II.

That which is recorded in Scripture concerning Rebels and Rebellion, a Touch-ſtone for all men to try themſelves by, whether indeed they be Rebels, or no, 152

SECT. III.

Rebellion a very hainous and pernicious crime, 156

SECT. IV.

To be preſerved or recovered, from the crime of Rebellion *a very great bleſſing*, 159

SECT. V.

A ſerious exhortation unfeignedly to repent of, and carefully to watch againſt, the crime of Rebellion, 161

SECT. VI.

Religion *and* liberty *of conſcience, unjuſtly pleaded to juſtifie, or to excuſe* Rebellion, 164

SECT. VII.

What Rebels *may be truly termed* Phanatiques, 168

SECT. VIII.

The Concluſion, 173

ΑΦΗΝΙΑΣΤΗΣ.

THE NEW PHANATIQUE;

OR,

The right Rebel.

SECT. I.

The end and uſe of Names. *God careful that things ſhould not be miſcalled. An Introduction to the enſuing diſcourſe.*

THE proper end of *names* is to diſcover the nature of *things*, and the right uſe of them to diſtinguiſh things that differ. A matter many times of much importance: for miſapplication of Names gives occaſion to a miſunderſtanding of the things themſelves, to which thoſe Names are miſapplyed: and the errors, into which

the minds of men are ſo miſled, too often carry on their affections and actions unto groſſe enormities. So vices diſguiſed in the names of virtues get admittance many times and kind entertainment, whileſt virtues branded with the names of vices are hardly handled and ſhut out of doors: eſpecially if a partial affectation of, or a prejudicate opinion againſt the perſons, by whom ſuch vices or virtues are practiſed, concur. And ſuch partiality and prejudice ſometimes take poſſeſſion of the minds of men before they are aware, being ſecretly conveyed into them by the ordinary uſe of Names acceptable or odious, admitted without taking time and care to conſider whether they be wrong or rightly applyed. In which reſpect God is not only careful of his own name that he may not be miſcalled, as Joſh. 2. 16. *Thou ſhalt call me* Iſhi, *and ſhalt call me no more* Baali: nor his name given unto others, as Iſa. 42. 8. *I am the Lord, that is my name, and my glory will I not give to another, neither my praiſe to graven images:* but of his peoples alſo, Iſa. 62. 2. *Thou ſhalt be called by a new name,*

name, which the mouth of the Lord ſhall name: and verſ. 4. *Thou ſhalt no more be termed* Forſaken, *neither ſhall thy land any more be termed* Deſolate: *but thou ſhalt be called* Hephzibah, *and thy land* Beulah. Iſa. 65. 16. *Ye ſhall leave your name for a curſe unto my choſen: for the Lord ſhall ſlay thee, and call his ſervants by another name.* Yea, his care in this kinde extends it ſelf ſometimes to particular perſons, in giving them peculiar and proper names, as to *Abraham* he ſaith, Gen. 17. 5. *Neither ſhall thy name any more be called* Abram, *but thy name ſhall be* Abraham: and of *Sarai* he ſaith, ver. 15. *As for* Sarai *thy wife thou ſhalt not call her name* Sarai, *but* Sarah *ſhall her name be.* And not for proper names only, but appellative alſo, God himſelf takes order by his Prophet *Iſaiah* that they ſhall not be miſplaced; Iſa. 62. 5. *The vile perſon ſhall be no more called liberal, nor the churle ſaid to be bountiful:* yea he pronounceth a wo by the ſame Prophet againſt them that practiſe ſuch confuſion of language, Iſa. 5. 19. *Wo unto them that call evill good, and good evill, that put*

darkneſs for light, and light for darkneſs, that put bitter for ſweet, and ſweet for bitter. Great need men had therefore to be careful what they ſay, and by what names they ſpeak of one another, leſt they fall under the *wo* pronounced againſt them, *that juſtifie the wicked, and take away the righteouſneſs of the righteous from him,* Iſa. 5.22.

To inſtance one particular only. The name of a *Rebel* is juſtly ſo odious, that, I will not ſay, no good Chriſtian, no truly Religious, but no good moral civil honeſt man can hear it without an inward diſlike and deteſtation of thoſe perſons and their practiſes, to whom that name of right belongs, and by which they have deſerved to be named ſo. But ſhould we unadviſedly and raſhly paſſe cenſure upon all for ſuch, and proſecute them accordingly, concerning whom that name is uſed, and but confeſs (as in reaſon we muſt, if we do ſo our ſelves) that others alſo may do ſo, we may peradventure not only be in danger to *offend againſt the generation of Gods children*, which the Pſalmiſt was afraid of, Pſal. 73. 15. but likewiſe

likewiſe have that fulfilled in our ſelves, which was foretold of *Iſhmael*, Gen. 16.12. *He will be a wilde man: his hand will be againſt every man, and every mans hand againſt him.* For, as the courſe of things is carryed now a dayes, the *crime of Rebellion* can hardly be charged upon any particular perſon, who wil not be ready both to juſtifie himſelf, and accuſe his accuſer as faulty in that which he findeth fault with. So concerning the *evil of Rebellion* there will no doubt be made by any, but the queſtion is only, *who are Rebels?* To which an indifferent anſwer *in hypotheſi*, as with relation to particular perſons, is hardly to be expected from any that are intereſted on any ſide, unleſs they could firſt *in theſi* agree on ſome ſuch certain marks to try a *Rebel* by, that upon whomſoever they were found, he muſt of neceſſity confeſs himſelf ſuch. But that peradventure is alike improbable, if not impoſſible. Yet this I hope there is none will deny: whom God cals a *Rebel*, he is one indeed. He, to whom the name and nature of *Rebellion*, the properties and practiſes of Rebels, obſervable in holy Scripture may truly

be applyed, muſt either take upon him to correct Gods Word, or elſe confeſs himſelf a *Rebel.* To lend ſome light then unto this diſcovery, it will not be amiſs to reduce unto their ſeveral heads thoſe things which may be found obſervable in holy Scripture concerning theſe particulars: and firſt of the name *Rebellion.*

Sect. II.

Rebels, Rebellious, Rebellion, to Rebel, *words borrowed from the Latine* Rebellare. *Four Hebrew words in the Old Teſtament ſo rendred in our Engliſh Tranſlation.*

Rebels, Rebellious, Rebellion, to Rebel, are words all borrowed from the Latine *Rebellare*: which properly ſignifies *bellum redintegrare,* to raiſe up War again after it hath been once laid down or ſuppreſt: as they do, *qui aliquando victi,*

victi, & in deditionem recepti, in fide quam principi aut Reipub. obligarunt non permanent: who having formerly been overcome, or ſubmitted themſelves, revolt and fall away from that fidelity wherein they ſtood obliged to their Prince or Countrey: the prepoſition *re* being by an *Apocope* drawn out of the Adverb *retro*, back again: as *Calepine* obſerves.

They are often uſed by our Engliſh Tranſlators of the Bible in the Old Teſtament, but never in the New, although the Greek word ἀποστασία, Act. 21. 21. and 2 Theſſ. 2. 3. Engliſhed *forſaking* and *falling away* import as much.

The words in the Hebrew ſo rendred in our Engliſh are originally four.

The firſt is מרד Gen. 4. 4. *Twelve years they ſerved* Chedorlaomer, *and in the thirteenth year they rebelled.* So Numb. 14. 9. and in other places.

The ſecond is, מרה Pſal. 5. 10. *They have rebelled againſt thee.* Numb. 17. 10. *To be kept for a token againſt the rebels,* לבני-מרי *the ſons of Rebellion.* So Numb. 20. 10. and in other places.

The third is פשע 1 King. 12. 19. *So Iſrael rebelled againſt the houſe of David.* So 2 King. 1.1. & 3. 5, 7. 2 Chr. 10.19. Job 34. 37. Iſa. 1. 2.

The fourth is, סור or סר Iſa. 1. 23. *Thy Princes are rebellious.* So Pſal. 68.18. Iſa. 30. 1. & 65. 2. Hoſ. 7.14.

Of theſe the firſt, which is מרד, properly ſignifieth to forſake or fall away from them, to whom before men either did, or at leaſt pretended to adhere. In another acceptation it ſignifieth to be miſerable, and to wander up and down, as thoſe that are caſt out and baniſhed for their rebellion. Lam. 1.7. *In the dayes of her affliction and her miſeries.* Iſa 58.7. *The poor that are caſt out. Schindler* obſerves that *Nimrod* had his name from hence, *qui fuit rebellis, & mundum reddidit rebellem,* as being both rebellious himſelf, and the ring-leader of rebellion to the reſt of the world. Or, as *Buxtorfius* hath it, *Quòd omnes rebellantes imperioſè & tyrannicè ſibi ſubjecerit. Ipſe enim primus cœpit eſſe potens, id eſt, imperioſus in terra,* Gen. 10. 8. *Cum Noachus cum ſuis plus habuerit authoritatis, quàm potentiæ;*

tentiæ, eumq; ſponte magis venerarentur, quàm imperio coacti metuerent. Becauſe he imperiouſly and tyrannically brought in ſubjection to himſelf all thoſe that rebelled, or obſtinately oppoſed themſelves: for he was the firſt that began to be powerfull, that is, imperious in the earth: when as *Noah* with his had more authority then power, and they rather reverenced him of their own accord, then feared him, as being conſtrained by command to do it. He likewiſe obſerves that the Rabbins call the Devill מרוד, *qui a Deo defecit*, who fell away or revolted from God; and a wilde Aſſe, which is *rebellis & intractabilis*, ſtubborn and untractable, מרודא.

The ſecond, which is מרה, properly ſignifies to alter, or change ſomething, which was or ſhould have been otherwiſe before. *In Hiphil*, as *Buxtorfius* obſerves, it ſignifies *irritare*, to provoke or ſtir up; and in the *Syriack*, as *Schindler* obſerves, to imitate.

The third, which is פשע, properly ſignifies to diſobey the will and command of another, contumaciouſly or out of pride

to

to tranſgreſs a Covenant made. In *Niphal*, as *Buxtorfius* obſerves, it ſignifies to be offended or provoked to anger, as Prov. 18. 19. *A brother offended:* and is ſometimes uſed in a larger ſenſe for any treſpaſſe, wherein one man deals unfaithfully with another, as Exod. 22. 9. *For all manner of treſpaſs.*

The fourth, which is סור, properly ſignifies to turn aſide, or to depart from, as Gen. 49. 10. *The ſcepter ſhall not depart from Judah.* Exod. 32. 8. *They have turned aſide quickly out of the way which I commanded them.* Jer. 2. 21. *The degenerate plants of a ſtrange vine; A vera vitis natura recedentes*, ſaith *Buxtorfius*, varying from the true nature of the Vine.

Other words beſides theſe are uſed by the holy Ghoſt in Scripture to the ſame purpoſe: But I mention them not becauſe by our Engliſh Tranſlators they are not rendered in theſe terms. And theſe may ſuffice to let us ſee how we are to underſtand the word *Rebellion*, according to the uſe thereof in Scripture.

SECT.

SECT. III.

Rebellion *in Scripture uſed ſometimes in a larger, ſometimes in a ſtricter ſenſe. What* Rebellion *is.*

REbellion then in Scripture is uſed ſometimes in a larger, ſometimes in a ſtricter ſenſe. In a larger ſenſe all diſobedience is *Rebellion:* yea all neglect of duty, and the doing of any thing that ought not to be done. So God tels *Moſes* and *Aaron*, that *they rebelled againſt his word at the water of* Meribah. Numb. 20. 24. *becauſe they believed him not to ſanctifie him in the eyes of the children of Iſrael*, verſe 12. Joſh. 1. 18. *Whoſoever he be that doth rebel againſt thy commandement, and will not hearken unto thy commandement in all that thou commandeſt him, he ſhall be put to death.* In which ſenſe to diſobey, or to tranſgreſs, and to rebel, are interchangeably added as Synonymal terms to one

one another. Nehem. 9. 26. *They were diſobedient and rebelled againſt thee.* Lam. 3. 42. *We have tranſgreſſed and have rebelled.* Ezek. 20. 13. *The houſe of Iſrael rebelled againſt me in the wilderneſs: they walked not in my ſtatutes.* Ver. 21. *The children rebelled againſt me: they walked not in my ſtatutes, neither kept my judgements to do them.* Dan. 9. 5. *We have ſinned and have committed iniquity, and have done wickedly, and have rebelled, even by departing from thy precepts, and from thy judgements.* Ver. 9, 10. *To the Lord our God belong mercies and forgiveneſſes, though we have rebelled againſt him. Neither have we obeyed the voice of the Lord our God to walk in the laws which he ſet before us by his ſervants the Prophets.*

In a ſtricter ſenſe not all diſobedience abſolutely, but that which is accompanied with ſtubbornneſs, perverſeneſs, obſtinacy, contempt or contumacy is *Rebellion.* Deut. 1. 43. *You would not hear, but rebelled againſt the commandement of the Lord, and went preſumptuouſly up into the hill.* Deut. 21. 18. *If a man have a ſtubborn*

born and rebellious ſon. Ver. 20. *This our ſon is ſtubborn and rebellious.* Deut. 31. 27. *I know thy rebellion and thy ſtiff neck.* 1 Sam. 15. 24. *Rebellion is as the ſin of witchcraft, and ſtubbornneſs is as iniquity and Idolatry.* 1 Sam. 20. 30. *Thou ſon of the perverſe rebellious woman.* Pſal. 107. 11. *They rebelled againſt the word of the Lord, and contemned the counſel of the moſt High.* In this ſenſe *Rebellion* is ſin, and ſomething elſe beſide. Job 34. 37. *He addeth rebellion unto his ſin.* To rebel in this ſenſe is not only to turn away, but likewiſe to refuſe to return. Iſa. 1. 20. *If ye refuſe and rebel.* Jer. 5. 3. *They have refuſed to receive correction: they have made their faces harder then a rock, they have refuſed to return.* It is not a neglecting only, but a rejecting alſo of the Word of the Lord. 1 Sam. 15. 23. *Becauſe thou haſt rejected the Word of the Lord, he hath alſo rejected thee from being King.* It is a labouring by multitude and power to withſtand and overtop Authority, by violence and force of arms to maintain and uphold themſelves and others in their diſobedience, and ſo to

ſet

ſet inferiours free from that ſubjection which they owe unto, or is challenged by, their ſuperiours: whether they be ſuch *de facto* only, or *de jure* only, or *de facto* and *de jure* both. *De facto* only, as 2 King. 18.7, 20. *de jure* only, as 1 King. 12. 19. 2 Chr. 13. 6. *de facto* and *de jure* both, as Numb. 17. 10. 2 Chr. 36. 13. Jer. 52. 3.

But, whether uſed in a ſtricter or a larger ſenſe, the word *Rebellion*, and the reſt of the ſame ſignification, ſeem not applicable unto any, but as they ſtand in relation of inferiority unto others as ſuperiors, either in reſpect of Authority, or Power, or both, either actually ſuch, or in pretenſe at leaſt. And, becauſe there is alwayes oppoſition in it of one unto another, therefore it is uſual with the holy Ghoſt in Scripture, when he ſpeaks of *Rebellion*, to deſign the *object*, unto which the *action* is directed, led in by the prepoſition *againſt*, as Jer. 28. 16. *Thou haſt taught rebellion againſt the Lord*, Lam. 1. 18. *I have rebelled againſt his commandement.* 2 King. 1. 1. *Moab rebelled againſt Iſrael.* And ſo *Rebellion* in general will ſignifie

any

any oppoſition of an inferiour unto his ſuperiour contrary to that duty of ſubjection, wherein he ſtands obliged unto him, or which is required of him: more particularly that which is accompanied with obſtinate, perverſe and ſtubborn contumacy or contempt: eſpecially that which is openly avowed, and purpoſely maintained by violence and force of Armes.

SECT. IV.

Rebellion *diverſly diſtinguiſhed in reſpect of the* ſubject.

THe name *Rebellion* being thus explained, for the better underſtanding of the thing it ſelf, we muſt conſider that *Rebellion* may be divers wayes diſtinguiſhed. As in reſpect of the *ſubject*: ſo firſt, *Rebellion* is either of one, or of more, and thoſe either few or many. Of one, as Deut. 21. 18, 20. *If a man have a ſtubborn and rebellious ſon. This our ſon is ſtubborn and rebellious.* Joſh. 1. 18.

Who-

Whoſoever he be that doth rebel againſt thy commandement. 2 King. 3. 5,7. *The King of* Moab *rebelled.* Jer. 52. 3. Zedekiah *rebelled againſt the King of* Babylon. Job 34. 37. *He addeth rebellion to his ſin*; ſpeaking of *Job.* Of a few, ſo Numb. 20. 24. *Becauſe ye rebelled againſt me:* ſpeaking in particular to *Moſes* and *Aaron.* Of many, as Numb. 20. 10. *Hear now ye rebels*, ſpeaking in generall to the whole congregation of *Iſrael.* Joſh. 22. 18. *Ye rebel to day againſt the Lord:* ſpeaking to the children of *Reuben*, the children of *Gad*, and the half tribe of *Manaſſeh.*

Secondly, *Rebellion* is either of thoſe that are authors and ringleaders themſelves, or of thoſe that are aſſociates and followers of others. Of the authors and ringleaders themſelves, as 2 Chr. 13. 6. Jeroboam *the ſon of* Nebat *the ſervant of* Solomon *the ſon of* David *is riſen up, and hath rebelled againſt his Lord.* Jer. 28. 16. *This year thou ſhalt die, becauſe thou haſt taught rebellion againſt the Lord:* ſpeaking to the falſe Prophet *Hananiah.* Jer. 29. 32. *Becauſe he hath taught rebellion againſt the Lord:* ſpeaking of the lying Prophet

Prophet *Shemaiah*. Of thoſe that are aſſociates and followers of others, as Numb. 17. 10. *To be kept for a token againſt the rebels:* in the original, *the ſons of rebellion:* ſpeaking of thoſe that had been led into rebellion by *Korah* and his companions, who in the former chapter had been partly ſwallowed up by the earth, and partly conſumed with fire from before the Lord. 1 King. 12. 19. Iſrael *rebelled againſt the houſe of* David: ſpeaking of the ten tribes that followed *Jeroboam*.

Thirdly, *Rebellion* is either of thoſe that of right and in duty ought to be obedient, or of thoſe that have formerly through fear, or by force been conſtrained to ſubmit themſelves. Of thoſe that of right and of duty ought to be obedient, as Joſh. 22. 29. *God forbid that we ſhould rebel againſt the Lord.* Deut. 11. 18, 20. If a man have a ſtubborn and rebellious ſon. *This our ſon is ſtubborn and rebellious.* 1 Sam. 12. 15. *If ye will not obey the voice of the Lord, but rebel againſt the word of the Lord, then ſhall the hand of the Lord be againſt you.* 2 Chr. 13. 5, 6. *Ought ye*

not to know that the Lord God of Iſrael *gave the Kingdom over* Iſrael *to* David *for ever, even to him and to his Sons by a Covenant of Salt? Yet* Jeroboam *the ſon of* Nebat, *the ſervant of* Solomon *the ſon of* David, *is riſen up and hath rebelled againſt his Lord.* Of thoſe that have formerly through fear, or by force been conſtrained to ſubmit themſelves, as Gen. 14. 4. *Twelve years they ſerved* Chedorlaomer: *and in the thirteenth year they rebelled.* 2 King. 1. 1. *Then* Moab *rebelled againſt* Iſrael. 2 Chr. 36. 13. *He alſo rebelled againſt King* Nebuchadnezzar, *who had made him ſwear by God.* So Ezek. 17. 15, *&c.*

SECT. V.

Rebellion *diverſly diſtinguiſhed in reſpect of the* adjuncts.

THus in reſpect of the *ſubject*. In the next place *Rebellion* may be diverſly diſtinguiſhed in regard of the *adjuncts*. As firſt, *Rebellion* is either ſudden and occaſional,

occaſional, or purpoſely intended and deliberate. Sudden and occaſional, as that of *Moſes* and *Aaron*. Numb. 20. 24. Purpoſely intended and deliberate, as that of *Jeroboam* and the ten tribes. So Prov. 17. 11. *An evil man ſeeketh only rebellion.* Jer. 5. 23. *This people hath a revolting and rebellious heart.* Nehem. 6. 6. *It is reported amongſt the heathen, and* Gaſhmu *ſaith it, that thou and the Jews think to rebel.*

Secondly, *Rebellion* is either ſhort, and ſoon ſuppreſt, repented of, deſiſted from and laid aſide, or long continued and perſiſted in. Short and ſoon ſuppreſt, or elſe repented of, diſiſted from and laid aſide, as that of *Korah* and his companions, Numb. 16. that of *Abſalom*, 2 Sam. 15. *&c.* and that of *Sheba*, the ſon of *Bichri*, 2 Sam. 20. Long continued and perſiſted in, as that of *Jeroboam* and the ten tribes, 2 King. 12. 19. So Deut. 9. 7. *From the day that thou didſt depart out of the land of* Egypt, *until ye came unto this place, ye have been rebellious againſt the Lord.* Ver. 24. *Ye have been rebellious againſt the Lord from the day that I knew you.*

Thirdly, *Rebellion* is either a ſpecial act of diſobedience in ſome one particular only, or a general caſting off of all ſubjection. A ſpecial act of diſobedience in ſome one particular only, as Joſh. 22. 16. *What treſpaſs is this that ye have committed againſt the Lord God of* Iſrael, *to turn away this day from following the Lord, in that you have builded you an altar, that ye might rebel this day againſt the Lord?* A general caſting off of all ſubjection, as 2 King. 18.7. *He rebelled againſt the King of* Aſſyria, *and ſerved him not:* ſpeaking of *Hezekiah.*

SECT. VI.

Rebellion *diverſly diſtinguiſhed in reſpect of the* object.

THus in reſpect of the *adjuncts*. In the third place, *Rebellion* may be diſtinguiſhed in regard of the *object*. So *Rebellion* is either immediately againſt God or againſt Man, or mediately againſt God in Man. Immediately againſt God when his

his will revealed in his Word is not obeyed, as Ezek. 20. 18. *The houſe of* Iſrael *rebelled againſt me in the wilderneſs: they walked not in my ſtatutes, and they deſpiſed my judgements.* Ver. 21. *The children rebelled againſt me: they walked not in my ſtatutes, neither kept my judgements to do them.* Hoſ. 13. 16. Samaria *ſhall become deſolate, for ſhe hath rebelled againſt her God.*

Immediately againſt Man three wayes:

Firſt, when his commandements are diſobeyed, as 1 Sam. 20. 30. *Saul* cals *Jonathan a ſon of perverſe rebellion*, becauſe he would not at his command ſend and fetch *David* unto him that he might ſlay him.

Secondly, when his authority is contemned and deſpiſed. 2 King. 18. 7. Of *Hezekiah* it is ſaid, *he rebelled againſt the King of* Aſſyria, *and ſerved him not:* namely, in that he would not accept of, and acknowledge him for his ſuperiour King.

Thirdly, when his power is reſiſted, or preparation made to that purpoſe that

it may be. So 2 King. 17. 4. of *Hoſheah* it is ſaid, that *the King of* Aſſyria *found conſpiracy in him*; and the reaſon is rendred, *for he had ſent meſſengers to So King of* Egypt, *&c.* as afterward. Ezek. 17. 15. it is ſaid, *He rebelled againſt him in ſending his Embaſſadors into Egypt, that they might give him horſes and much people:* ſpeaking of *Zedekiahs* preparation to ſtrengthen himſelf againſt the King of *Babylon.* And that which our Engliſh there renders *conſpiracy* קשר, *Schindler* obſerves to be rendred by the *Chaldee Paraphraſt* in other places *rebellion*, as 2 Sam. 15. 12. and Iſa. 8. 12. So that of 2 King. 9. 14. Jehu *conſpired againſt* Joram, by him is rendred *rebellis fuit.*

Mediately againſt God in Man three wayes:

Firſt, when men in authority requiring obedience to the commands of God are diſobeyed: as Joſh. 22. 19. *Rebel not againſt the Lord, nor rebel againſt us, in building you an altar, beſide the altar of the Lord our God.*

Secondly, when inferiours will not yield ſubmiſſion

ſubmiſſion unto the authority and obedience unto the commands of thoſe whom God hath placed over them as their ſuperiors: as 2 Chr. 13. 8. *And now ye think to withſtand the kingdom of the Lord in the hand of the ſons of* David.

Thirdly, when men of themſelves take upon them to put Authority and Power into the hands of others without warrant from God: as Nehem. 9. 17. *They refuſed to obey, neither were mindful of the wonders that thou didſt amongſt them: but hardened their necks, and in their rebellion appointed a captain to return to their bondage.* So that may be *Rebellion againſt God*, which is not *Rebellion againſt man:* becauſe men in authority do not alwayes, as they ſhould do, command obedience unto Gods commands. And that may be *rebellion againſt Man*, which is not *rebellion againſt God:* becauſe men many times uſurp authority over thoſe that they ought not, whom God hath not commanded to be ſubject and ſubmit themſelves unto them: or having authority employ it in commanding ſuch things as are not agreeable, but contrary, to the

revealed will of God. And that which is *Rebellion againſt Men* may be *Rebellion againſt God* alſo; becauſe thoſe that are in authority do ſometimes command thoſe things which God commands: and God doth alwayes require of inferiours obedience unto the commands of their ſuperiours, in all things that are not forbidden by himſelf, either expreſly or by conſequence. Rom. 13. 1, *&c.* Tit. 3. 1, 1 Pet. 2, 13, *&c.*

SECT. VII.

Rebellion *ſo called either lawful, or unlawful.*

BY this it appears that *Rebellion* (ſo called) may be either lawful or unlawful. Lawful, when it is neither directly nor indirectly, neither immediately nor mediately forbidden by God. Such I make account was the *Rebellion* of *Hezekiah* againſt the King of *Aſſyria*, 2 King. 18. 7. For the King of *Aſſyria* having no lawful authority over *Hezekiah*, but only by

by power uſurping upon him, there was no command of God, by which *Hezekiah* was either directly or indirectly, immediately or mediately, obliged any longer to be ſubject and ſubmit himſelf unto the King of *Aſſyria*, when he had means and opportunity to free himſelf from ſuch ſubjection. And ſuch was the *Rebellion* (if it may be ſo called) of *Shadrach*, *Meſhach* and *Abednego*, Dan. 3. when, as the phraſe is, ver. 28. *They changed the Kings word*, when they purpoſely and profeſſedly diſobeyed the Kings decree, whereby they were commanded to fall down and worſhip the golden Image, which he had ſet up. And ſuch was the *Rebellion* (if it may be ſo called) of *Daniel*, when (though he knew that King *Darius* had ſigned the writing and decree, which all the preſidents of the Kingdom, the Governours and the Princes, the Counſellours and the Captains, had conſulted together *to eſtabliſh as a Royal Statute, that whoſoever ſhould ask a petition of any God or Man for* 30 *dayes, ſave of the King, ſhould be caſt into the den of Lyons*) yet he *went*

into

into his houſe, and his windows being open in his chamber towards Jeruſalem, *he kneeled upon his knees three times a day, and prayed and gave thanks before his God, as he did afore time*, Dan. 6. 7, *&c.* I ſay (if it may be ſo called) for though in effect thoſe men call it ſo, when ver. 13. they ſay, *That* Daniel, *which is of the captivity of the children of* Judah, *regardeth not thee, ô King, nor the decree that thou haſt ſigned* (as certain *Caldeans* had formerly ſaid of *Shadrach*, *Meſhach* and *Abednego* to King *Nebuchadnezzar*, Dan. 3. 12. *Theſe men, ô King, have not regarded thee*) yet *Daniel* ſtands upon his juſtification, and pleads his own innocency, not only before God, but alſo before the King, Dan. 6. 22. And both the dealing of *Darius* thereupon towards *Daniel*, and of *Nebuchadnezzar* towards *Shadrach*, *Meſhach*, and *Abednego*, ſhew plainly how well they were ſatisfied that thoſe accuſations were no other but undeſerved calumnies. And though the holy Ghoſt, 2 King. 18. 7. ſpeak of *Hezekiahs* not ſerving the King of *Aſſyria* in the ſame terms that *Rabſhakeh* himſelf doth,

doth, ver. 20. ſaying in his Maſters name, *On whom doſt thou truſt that thou rebelleſt againſt me?* Yet we muſt not underſtand it ſo, as if in Gods eſteem that act of *Hezekiah* were indeed *Rebellion*, but he ſpeaks according to the manner of men, who ſometimes uſe ſuch terms in ſpeaking as are uſed by others, though themſelves have another opinion of the things themſelves concerning which they ſpeak. So *David*, upbraided by his wife *Michal*, as though he had ſhamefully uncovered himſelf when he danced before the Lord, being girded with a linen Ephod, ſaith, *I will yet be more vile then thus*, 2 Sam. 6. 22. Not becauſe he thought he was any way vilified thereby indeed, but becauſe *Michal* deſpiſed him for doing ſo, and therefore he ſeemed vile unto her. So St. *Paul* cals *the preaching of the Goſpel fooliſhneſſe*, 1 Cor. 1. 18, *&c.* not becauſe it was ſo indeed, or that he himſelf eſteemed ſo of it, but becauſe they that were wiſe men only after the fleſh both termed and reputed it ſo. But when it is either directly or indirectly, immediately or mediately,

forbidden

forbidden by God, *Rebellion* is then unlawful.

SECT. VIII.

Rebellion *ſometimes ſo eſteemed by men not only lawful, but alſo neceſſary.*

NAy more it appears that that, which ſometimes is eſteemed and termed *Rebellion* by men, may be, and is in truth, and in Gods account, not only lawful but neceſſary alſo, and ſo not *Rebellion* indeed, but duty. As when the commands of inferiours in authority, are diſobeyed in obedience unto the lawful commands of thoſe that in authority are their ſuperiours. So the Soveraignty of God being abſolutely Supreme, as himſelf is the moſt high over all, if men, though the higheſt upon earth, command that which is forbidden by God, or forbid that which is commanded by him, it is not unlawful but neceſſary *Rebellion* (if it may be ſo called) to obey him, though they thereby

by be diſobeyed. For as *Peter* and the other Apoſtles tell the high Prieſt and the reſt of the Councill, Act. 5. 29. *We ought to obey God rather then men.* A thing ſo altogether undeniable, that *Peter* and *John* are not affraid to appeal unto themſelves for it, Act. 4. 19. *Whether it be right in the ſight of God to hearken unto you more then unto God, judge ye.* Thus *Jonathan* did well in diſobeying his father, when he commanded him to ſend and fetch *David* unto him that he might ſlay him, 1 Sam. 20. 31. although *Saul* call him *a ſon of perverſe rebellion*, v. 30. becauſe, by obeying his father in that, *Jonathan* knew he ſhould have diſobeyed God, being as he was well aſſured of *Davids* innocency, chap. 19. 4, *&c.* And on the contrary *Saul* himſelf confeſſeth unto *Samuel*, *I have ſinned, for I have trangreſſed the commandement of the Lord, and thy words, becauſe I feared the people and obeyed their voice*, 1 Sam. 15. 24. Yea, notwithſtanding that *Saul* doth plead a pretence of Religion for what he had done, ver. 15. and ſeems to confeſs not an act of the people only to that purpoſe,

but

but ſuch an authority, or power at leaſt, in them as (if not of right, yet) for fear he was obedient to, *Samuel* forbears not to term it *Rebellion* equal unto *Witchcraft* and *Idolatry*, ver. 23. So all humane authority upon earth being of two kinds, Supreme and Subordinate, and there being no ſubordinate Authority but that which is derived from the Supreme, if ſubordinate Magiſtrates forbid that which is lawfully commanded, or command that which is juſtly forbidden by the Supreme, to diſobey the Subordinate in obedience to the Supreme, is not only lawful but neceſſary alſo, and ſo not to be either called or accounted *Rebellion*, unleſs we will ſay that that may be *Rebellion*, which is ſo far from being unlawful, that it is to be eſteemed truly laudable. Remarkable to this purpoſe is that anſwer of the man that told *Joab* he ſaw *Abſalom* hanged in an oake: when *Joab* had ſaid, *Why didſt thou not ſmite him there to the ground, and I would have given thee ten ſhekels of ſilver and a girdle?* his anſwer is, *Though I ſhould have received a thouſand ſhekels of ſilver*

in

in my hand, yet would I not put forth my hand againſt the Kings ſon: for in our hearing the King charged thee and Abiſhai *and* Ittai *ſaying, Beware that none touch the yong man* Abſalom. *Otherwiſe I ſhould have wrought falſhood againſt mine own life: for there is no matter hid from the King, and thou thy ſelf wouldeſt have ſet thy ſelf againſt me,* 2 Sam. 18. 10, *&c.* Though *Joab* be the General of *Davids* Army, yet a common Souldier (as it ſeems he was) will not be tempted with a great reward to obey him, if he command what he knows is forbidden by *David* himſelf. To do ſo would be the way to undo all. For if the obſervation of order be as the ſoul to the body in the exerciſe of all Authority, and if ſubordination be eſſential to order, to prefer ſubordinate Authority before Supreme is in effect to put the whole courſe of nature out of frame, and open an entrance unto all confuſion.

SECT.

SECT. IX.

Divers degrees of evill in Rebellion. *Rebellion againſt God a greater evil then Rebellion againſt Men. Some rebellion againſt God worſe then other.*

AGain it appears that there may be divers degrees of evill in *Rebellion*, varyed according to the nature and number of the ſeveral circumſtances. As firſt, *Rebellion* againſt *God* is a greater evill then *Rebellion* againſt *men*. For ſin is ſimply, abſolutely, eſſentially evil: and if all ſin be not *Rebellion* againſt God (as in a larger acceptation of the word it is) yet all *Rebellion* againſt God is ſin, yea ſin *exceeding ſinful*, as the Apoſtle ſpeaks, Rom. 7. 13. If it be *Rebellion* in the ſtricter ſenſe, or *Rebellion added unto ſin*, as the phraſe is, Job 34. 37. This difference is well obſerved by *Eli*, 1 Sam. 2. 25. *If one man ſin againſt another*,

another, the judge ſhall judge him: but if a man ſin againſt the Lord, who ſhall intreat for him? And therefore it muſt ſtill be underſtood as an emphatical expreſſion, uſed of purpoſe to aggravate his peoples guiltineſs, and juſtifie the ſeverity of his judgements againſt them, when God by his Prophets tels them that they had rebelled againſt him: as Hoſ. 13.16. Samaria *is become deſolate, for ſhe hath rebelled againſt her God.* Ezek. 20. 21. *The children rebelled againſt me:* and in divers other places. Whence *David* ſpeaking of himſelf unto God ſaith, *Againſt thee, thee only, have I ſinned, and done this evill in thy ſight: that thou mighteſt be juſtified when thou ſpeakeſt, and be clear when thou judgeſt*, Pſal. 51. 4.

And as *Rebellion* againſt God is a greater evil then *Rebellion* againſt Men: ſo likewiſe ſome kinds of *Rebellion* againſt God are worſe then others. As the *Rebellion* of thoſe that ſtand nearer in relation unto him by ſpecial Covenant then others do: ſo Iſa. 1. 2. *I have nouriſhed and brought up children, and they have*

rebelled againſt me: enough to engage both the heavens and the earth to hearken, yea to be aſtoniſhed, horribly affraid, and very deſolate. Jer. 2. 12. The *Rebellion* of thoſe that are eminent in place of Authority above others: ſo Iſa. 1. 23. *Thy Princes are rebellious.* The *Rebellion* of thoſe that teach others to rebel: ſo Jer. 28. 16. Jer. 29. 32. *Rebellion* long continued and perſiſted in: ſo Deut. 9. 7. Deut. 31. 27. Purpoſely intended, plotted as it were, and ſtudyed *Rebellion*: ſo Prov. 17. 11. *Rebellion* practiſed by many together: ſo Iſa. 30. 9. *This is a rebellious people.* Ezek. 2. 3. *I ſend thee to the children of* Iſrael, *to a rebellious Nation,* Ezek. 20. 13. *The houſe of* Iſrael *rebelled againſt me in the wilderneſs:* and in ſundry other places.

SECT.

SECT. X.

Evil greateſt in that Rebellion againſt Men *wherein God himſelf is moſt nearly concerned.*

AND as *Rebellion* againſt God is a greater evil then *Rebellion* againſt Men: ſo the evil is greateſt in that Rebellion againſt Men, wherein God himſelf is moſt nearly concerned. And God is moſt nearly concerned in *Rebellion* againſt Men, when either the Men rebelled againſt are higheſt in Authority next under God, or when that wherein they are diſobeyed doth make moſt directly to promote his honour, or when thoſe that rebel againſt them have formerly bound themſelves to obedience by the ſacred obligation of a ſolemn Oath and Covenant: for in all theſe caſes *Rebellion* reacheth in a ſpecial manner unto God himſelf, though mediately through men.

Thus for the firſt, when *Jeroboam* and the ten tribes had rebelled againſt *Rehoboam*, *Abijah* tels them, *Ye think to withſtand the Kingdom of the Lord in the hands of the ſons of* David. *O children of* Iſrael, *fight ye not againſt the Lord God of your Fathers, for ye ſhall not proſper*, 2 Chr. 13. 8, 12.

For the ſecond, when the whole Congregation of the children of *Iſrael*, upon a ſuſpicion that the children of *Reuben*, the children of *Gad*, and the half tribe of *Manaſſeh*, at their return into the Countrey of *Gilead*, had built an altar that they might rebel againſt the Lord, Joſh. 22. 16. had charged them, ſaying, *Rebel not againſt the Lord, nor rebel againſt us, in building you an altar beſide the altar of the Lord our God*, ver. 9. though they make their apologie unto the heads of the thouſands of *Iſrael*, yet their appeal and ſubmiſſion is principally unto God himſelf, as to him that was moſt of all intereſted in the buſineſs, ver. 22, 23. *The Lord God of gods, the Lord God of gods, he knoweth, and* Iſrael *he ſhall know, if it be in rebellion or in tranſgreſſion againſt the*

Lord

Lord (ſave us not this day) That we have built us an altar to turn from following the Lord, or if to offer thereon burnt-offering, or if to offer peace-offerings thereon, let the Lord himſelf require it.

For the third, when *Shimei* had diſobeyed *Solomons* command by going from *Jeruſalem* to *Gath*, *Solomon* to make his guiltineſs appear the greater urgeth his own Oath againſt him. *Did I not make thee to ſwear by the Lord? why then haſt thou not kept the Oath of the Lord, and the commandement that I have charged thee with?* 1 King. 2. 42, 43. And the holy Ghoſt to aggravate the guilt of *Zedekiahs* rebellion ſaith, *He rebelled againſt* Nebuchadnezzar, *who had made him ſwear by God*, 2 Chr. 36. 13. which God taking as a wrong done to himſelf ſaith, *As I live, ſurely mine Oath that he hath deſpiſed, and my Covenant that hath broken, even it will I recompenſe upon his own head.* Ezek. 17. 19.

SECT. XI.

Evil of Rebellion *againſt* Men *aggravated by acceſs of the like circumſtances as Rebellion againſt God was.*

AGain the evill of *Rebellion* againſt men is aggravated by the acceſſe of the like circumſtances, as the evil of *Rebellion* againſt God was. So the *Rebellion* of a Son againſt his Father is worſe then the *Rebellion* of a Servant againſt his Maſter, by how much the relation between them is nearer, and more natural: the *Rebellion* of Subjects againſt their Supreme, is worſe then their *Rebellion* againſt their ſubordinate Magiſtrates, by how much the Authority contemned in them is more abſolute and independent: the *Rebellion* of thoſe that have been obliged by benefits is worſe then of thoſe, who have been provoked with injuries, by how much ingratitude is leſſe excuſable then indignation: the *Rebellion* of thoſe that

that are ſeducers of others, and draw them into Rebellion with them, is worſe then of thoſe that are only ſeduced by others, or rebel themſelves alone without ſeducing others. Thus *Abſaloms* Rebellion againſt *David* hath theſe as ſo many ſeveral ingredients to heighten its malignancy, 2 Sam. 15. 1, *&c.* *David* was his Father, was the Lords Anointed, had been formerly indulgent, and ſtill continued tenderly affected towards him: *Abſalom* not content with what himſelf could do, ſtole away the hearts of others, and called even thoſe that went in their ſimplicity, and knew not any thing. So the *Rebellion* of a multitude, when many joyn together, and partake in the ſame perverſe and ſtubborn courſe of obſtinate contemptuous diſobedience, is worſe then the *Rebellion* of one man alone, or only of a few. Thus the *Rebellion* of *Korah*, *Dathan* and *Abiram*, Numb. 16. is not juſtified at all, but made the more notorious, by the number of their companions, firſt 250 Princes of the aſſembly, ver. 2. and afterward all the Congregation, ver. 19. and the ſtrength of *Abſa-*

loms rebellion is attributed to the multitude of his aſſociates. 2 Sam. 15. 12. *The conſpiracy was ſtrong, for the people encreaſed continually after Abſalom.* So *Rebellion* purpoſely plotted and contrived is worſe then that, which men fall into ſuddenly upon occaſion only without premeditation. Thus the *Rebellion* of *Abſalom*, 2 Sam. 15. was a more ſtudyed and rooted Rebellion, and by ſo much worſe then that of *Sheba*, 2 Sam. 20. So *Rebellion* long continued and perſiſted in is worſe then that, which is either ſuddenly ſuppreſt, or quickly repented of, deſiſted from and laid aſide. Thus the Rebellion of *Jeroboam* and the ten Tribes hath this ſpecial brand put upon it by the holy Ghoſt, 1 King. 12. 19. *So* Iſrael *rebelled againſt the houſe of* David *unto this day*. And it may well be thought that when the holy Ghoſt, ſpeaking of the ſon and other ſucceſſors of *Jeroboam* in the Kingdom of *Iſrael*, ſaith ſo often, *He did evil in the ſight of the Lord, and walked in the way of* Jeroboam, *and in his ſin, wherewith he made* Iſrael *to ſin*, he intends the continuance

of

of their *Rebellion*, as well as of their *Idolatry*, and peradventure rather that then this.

SECT. XII.

Properties *of* Rebels. *Affected Ignorance ſet off with a plauſible pretence of Knowledge.*

BUt to proceed from the nature of *Rebellion* to the properties of *Rebels*. Though perhaps we ſhall hardly meet with any that are convertible, as alwayes agreeing unto all Rebels, and only unto them, yet we may obſerve ſome ſuch as commonly they are accompanyed with. The firſt that I will take notice of is *affected Ignorance* ſet off with a plauſible pretence of *Knowledge*. *Rebels* many times either are, or at leaſt take upon them to be, ignorant of ſuch things as they ought to know. So wicked men are compared by *Job* to *wilde Aſſes*, Job 24. 5. *They are of thoſe that rebel againſt the light, they know not the wayes thereof, nor*

nor abide in the paths thereof, ver. 13. The Apoſtle St. *Jude* denouncing *wo againſt them that have gone in the way of* Cain, *and ran greedily after the error of* Balaam *for reward, and periſhed in the gainſaying of* Core, ver. 11. in the 10. ver. deſcribes them to be ſuch as *ſpeak evil of thoſe things which they know not: but what they know naturally as brute beaſts, in thoſe things they corrupt themſelves.* And St. *Peter* deſcribing thoſe that deſpiſe Government and are not affraid to ſpeak evill of dignities, ſaith, *Theſe as natural brute beaſts, made to be taken and deſtroyed, ſpeak evil of the things they underſtand not*, 2 Pet. 3. 12. Thus *Abijah* expoſtulates the matter with *Jeroboam* and all *Iſrael*, 2 Chr. 13. 5, 6. *Ought ye not to know that the Lord God of* Iſrael *gave the kingdom over* Iſrael *to* David *for ever, even to him and his ſons by a covenant of ſalt? Yet* Jeroboam *the ſon of* Nebat *the ſervant of* Solomon *the ſon of* David, *is riſen up and hath rebelled againſt his Lord.*

And yet, though they either do not or will not ſeem to know that which they ought,

ought, they are apt to pretend more then ordinary knowledge and inſight into matters above other men. Thus *Dathan* and *Abiram* being ſent for by *Moſes* do not only expreſs their own reſolution to the contrary, *We will not come up:* but, as if they had ſeen ſufficient reaſon for it, add, *Is it a ſmall thing that thou haſt brought us up out of a land that floweth with milk and honey, to kill us in the wilderneſs, except thou make thy ſelf altogether a Prince over us? Moreover thou haſt not brought us into a land that floweth with milk and hony, or given us inheritance of fields and vineyards: wilt thou put out the eyes of theſe men?* Numb. 15. 12, 13, 14. So they would have themſelves and their aſſociates to be thought the only ſeeing knowing men in all *Iſrael*, and all the reſt in compariſon of them, but blind and ignorant.

SECT.

SECT. XIII.

Inſinuations with others, and a dexterous activity in drawing Adherents.

A Second may be *inſinuation* with others, and a dexterous activity in drawing Adherents. *Rebels* for the moſt part are like *bryers* (the ſame word סרבים, Ezek. 2. 6. as *Schindler* obſerves doth ſignifie both) they are apt to lay hold upon every thing that comes within their reach. Of *Rebellion* againſt God (that is, of ſin) St. *Paul*, when he ſaith, *Know ye not that a little leaven leaveneth the whole lump?* 1 Cor. 5. 6. implies that it is not only of an infectious and contagious, but likewiſe of a ſpreading and diffuſive nature, not only apt to taint and corrupt that which comes nigh unto it, but alſo to dilate it ſelf at large and reach out unto that which is not only near at hand, but even afar off, eſpecially when it happens upon ſome

ſome ſuch active inſtruments of evil as the *Scribes* and *Phariſees* were, againſt whom as Hypocrites our Saviour himſelf pronounceth a *wo* upon this very ground, Mat. 23. 15. *For ye compaſs ſea and land to make one Proſelyte, and when he is made, ye make him twofold more the childe of hell then your ſelves.* Of this ſort, as St. *Paul* ſpeaks, 2 Tim. 3. 6. are they which *creep into houſes, and lead captive ſilly women laden with ſins, and led away with divers luſts.* And though it be true of many ſins that they may be, and often are, ſo committed ſingle (I mean by particular perſons alone, that they neither have nor deſire to have any aſſociates to partake with them therein) yet are they apt even then when they intend it not by their evill examples to draw others after them, and though they have no aſſociates and companions in action, yet have they too too many followers by imitation: the ſame word מרה, that in *Hebrew* ſignifieth *to rebel*, in the *Syriack*, as *Schindler* obſerves, doth ſignifie *to imitate.* So God by his Prophet *Iſaiah* complains, *O my people, they which lead thee cauſe thee*

thee to err, and deſtroy the way of thy paths, Iſa. 3. 12. and Jer. 23. 15. *From the Prophets of* Jeruſalem *is profaneneſs*, or *hypocriſie, gone forth into all the land.* Whence *Solomons* adviſe is, *Make no friendſhip with an angry man: and with a furious man thou ſhalt not go: leſt thou learn his wayes, and get a ſnare unto thy ſoul*, Prov. 22. 24, 25. Yea God himſelf unto his people *Iſrael* gives this the reaſon, when ſpeaking of the *Hivite*, the *Canaanite* and the *Hittite* he ſaith, *They ſhall not dwell in thy land, leſt they make thee ſin againſt me*, Exod. 23. 33. For Rebellion againſt men, it ſeems by that expreſſion of St. *Paul*, Act. 20. 30. that when *men ariſe ſpeaking perverſe things*, they do it of purpoſe to *draw away diſciples after them.* And amongſt other conditions, by which St. *Peter* deſcribeth them that *deſpiſe Government, and are not affraid to ſpeak evil of dignities*, this is one, that *they ſport themſelves with their own deceivings*; another, that *they have eyes full of adultery, and that cannot ceaſe from ſin, beguiling unſtable ſouls*: a third, that

when

when they ſpeak great ſwelling words of vanity, they allure through the luſts of the fleſh, through much wantonneſs, thoſe that were clean eſcaped from them who live in errour, 2 Pet. 2. 13, 14, 18. Thus not only *Korah*, *Dathan* and *Abiram*, with their confederates 250. Princes of the Aſſembly, are able to gather all the Congregation of *Iſrael* unto the door of the Tabernacle againſt *Moſes* and *Aaron*, Numb. 16. 19. Or *Abſalom* to ſteal the hearts of the men of *Iſrael*, 2 Sam. 15. 6. But even *Sheba* the ſon of *Bichri*, a man of *Belial*, with the blaſt of a Trumpet, and a word ſpeaking could prevail ſo much with all the Tribes of *Iſrael*, except *Judah* only, that *every man went up from after* David, *and followed him*, 2 Sam. 20. 1, 2.

SECT.

SECT. XIV.

Multiplication of Tranſgreſsions by adding many ſins of ſeveral kinds together.

A Third may be *multiplication of Tranſgreſsions*, by adding many ſins of ſeveral kinds together. Rebels many times are men given up unto a *reprobate minde*, not only *to do thoſe things that are not convenient*, as St. *Paul* ſpeaks, Rom. 1. 28. or that which is *unſeemly*, as ver. 27. but even to be *filled with all unrighteouſneſs*, &c. ver. 29, 30, 31. Concerning *rebels* againſt *God* (and ſuch by nature all men are, as well as thoſe *Romans*, of whom the Apoſtle ſpeaks) there is no queſtion to be made of it. When once *the fool hath ſaid in his heart, there is no God*, it follows preſently, *they are corrupt, they have done abominable works, there is none that doth good*, &c. Pſal. 14. 1, *&c. God ſaw that the wickedneſs of man was great in the earth,*

and

and that every imagination of the thoughts of his heart was only evil continually, Gen. 6. 5. *God hath made man upright, but they have ſought out many inventions*, Eccl. 7. 29. Yea *David* himſelf, a man after Gods own heart, and ſo not a Rebel in the ſtricter ſenſe, is yet ſo ſenſible of this, that he cryes out, *Who can underſtand his errours?* Pſal. 19. 20. and Pſal. 38. 4. *Mine iniquities are gone over mine head; as an heavy burthen they are too heavy for me. For innumerable evils have compaſſed me about, mine iniquities have taken hold of me, ſo that I am not able to look up: they are more then the hairs of mine head.* Pſal. 40. 12. How many miſcarriages of his may we meet with in that one matter of *Uriah* only? Some men make account that *David* therein brake all the ten Commandements of the Moral Law. And how fearfully did *Peter* fall to curſing and ſwearing, when once he had begun but to deny his Maſter? And that it is not only an effect that follows on Rebellious actions, but alſo an end intended by the Rebels themſelves, may ſeem to be implied at

leaſt in that phraſe of the Prophet *Iſaiah*, Iſa. 30. 1. *Wo to the rebellious children, ſaith the Lord, that take counſel, but not of me, and that cover with a covering, but not of my Spirit, that they may add ſin to ſin.*

Concerning *Rebels* againſt *Men*, although there be not many examples in Scripture of ſuch, yet even amongſt thoſe few that are we may finde enough to evince this obſervation true, that Men are ſeldom Rebels alone, in an obſtinate oppoſition of Authority in any one particular only, but alſo guilty of many other grievous crimes, either before or after, beſides thoſe which are inſeparably twiſted, as it were, and interwoven with their *Rebellion* it ſelf. So *Abſalom*, beſides his ſlanderous traducing of his Father *David*, 2 Sam. 15. 3. his vainglorious boaſting of himſelf, ver. 4. his hypocritical pretence of devotion, ver. 7, 8. and his ſhameleſs inceſt with his Fathers Concubines, Chap. 16. 22. was long before guilty of a barbarous murther committed on his brother *Amnon*, Chap. 13. 28, 29. and *Achitophel* his

Coun-

Counſellour became his own executioner and hanged himſelf, Chap. 17. 23. So *Jeroboam* and the ten tribes add *idolatry* to their *rebellion*, and fall away from following their God as well as their King: having firſt forſaken their Allegiance they quickly forfeit their Religion alſo, 1 King. 12. 28, *&c.*

SECT. XV.

Diſſimulation and Hypocriſie.

A Fourth may be *diſſimulation* and *hypocriſie*. *Rebels* for the moſt part aime at other ends then they pretend, and leaſt of all purpoſe what they moſt of all profeſs, contradict themſelves in their contrariety unto others, take upon them to be moſt obedient then, when indeed and in truth they are moſt obſtinately diſobedient. Thus notwithſtanding all that fair profeſſion which the *Iſraelites* make, Deut. 1. 41. *We have ſinned againſt the Lord, we will go up and fight, according to all that the Lord our God com-*

manded us: yet *Moſes* tels them, ver. 43. *You would not hear, but rebelled againſt the Commandement of the Lord, and went preſumptuouſly up into the hill.* In the 26. ver. he had ſaid, *Ye would not go up, but rebelled againſt the Commandement of the Lord your God*: here he ſaith, *you rebelled and went up.* The intervention of an after prohibition made even the repentance, confeſſion and pretended reformation of their diſobedience to a former precept preſumptuouſly perſiſted in Rebellion. So *Saul* tels *Samuel*, *I have performed the Commandement of the Lord*, 1 Sam. 15. 13. and ver. 20. *Yea, I have obeyed the voice of the Lord, and have gone the way which the Lord ſent me*, &c. Yet *Samuel* tels *Saul*, that howſoever he pretended Religion, yet he practiſed *Rebellion*, verſ. 22, 23. Thus *Korah* and his companions, Numb. 16. put a colour of holineſs upon their own ambitious ends, and openly accuſe *Moſes* and *Aaron* as *taking too much upon them*, ver. 3. the fault whereof themſelves were guilty, ver. 7. And though the Pſalmiſt expreſly aſcribe their enterprife

unto

unto their *envy* againſt *Moſes* and *Aaron*, Pſal. 106. 16. yet the popular pretenſe that *Dathan* and *Abiram* plead to juſtifie their peremptory diſobedience, in refuſing to come up when *Moſes* ſent to call them, is a care to preſerve their liberty from the invaſion of an abſolute Soveraignty, that *Moſes* might not make himſelf altogether a Prince over them, Num. 16. 13. and a remonſtrance of *Moſes* his miſgovernment (as they pretended) that he had not kept touch with them in performances anſwerable to their expectation, ver. 14. What a fair pretenſe of intended reformation is put on by *Abſalom*, 2 Sam. 15. 4. when he ſaith, *O that I were made Judge in the Land, that any man which hath any ſuit or cauſe might come unto me that I might do him juſtice?* And not of publick reformation only in civil matters appertaining to the Common-wealth, but of private conſcience alſo in matters of religious worſhip. Ver. 7, 8. *I pray thee let me go and pay my vow, which I have vowed to the Lord, in* Hebron. *For thy ſervant vowed a vow, while I abode at* Geſhur *in* Syria,

ſaying, *If the Lord ſhall bring me again indeed unto* Jeruſalem, *then I will ſerve the Lord.* Who could have thought that *Abſalom*, who made ſo glorious a ſhew of juſtice, of devotion, yea of loyal ſubjection, and dutiful obedience to his Father *David*, that he would not attempt to go out of *Jeruſalem* to *Hebron*, no not though it were for the payment of a vow to God, without the Kings conſent, ſhould at the ſame time harbour in his heart a purpoſe to uſurp his Fathers Authority, and even then not only ſteal away the hearts of his people from him, but alſo ſend ſpies thorowout all the Tribes of *Iſrael*, ſaying, *As ſoon as ye hear the ſound of the Trumpet, then ye ſhall ſay*, Abſalom *reigneth in* Hebron, ver. 10. What ſhall we ſay? that this was that wherein he did vow to ſerve the Lord in *Hebron*, while he abode at *Geſhur* in *Syria?* Or ſhall we ſay that when the King ſaid unto him, *Go in peace*, ver. 9. he granted him a general Commiſſion to do what he would when he was come to *Hebron?* yea though it were to make himſelf King, and levy War againſt his

his own both King and Father? Or ſhall we think that *Abſalom* intended then to do juſtice unto other men, when he ſought his Fathers life, chap. 16. 11. and was well pleaſed with that counſel of *Achitophel*, which propoſed the purſuit of *David* preſently, whileſt he was weary and weak handed, promiſing the flight of all the people, and to ſmite the King alone, as the only man whom *Abſalom* ſought? Chap. 17. 1, 2, 3, 4. If we would be, I will not ſay ſo charitably, but ſo unreaſonably opinioned of *Abſaloms* ſincere intent to do juſtice, yet certainly no mask of religion and devotion can be large enough to cover the face of his profaneneſs and impiety, when that he might be known to be abhorred of his Father, in a tent upon the top of the houſe, he went in unto his Fathers Concubines, in the ſight of all *Iſrael*, Chap. 16. 21, 22.

SECT. XVI.

Self-ſeeking.

A Fifth may be *Self-ſeeking*. Rebels for the moſt part to advance that good which they think to do unto themſelves, never care what wrong they do to others, if not *poſitively* by being cauſes or occaſions of hurt unto them, yet *privatively* by detaining from them, or depriving them of, that good, which otherwiſe they might expect, or challenge as their due. Thus, though it be true that neither the good nor the evil which is done by men doth reach unto God, in ſuch ſort, as that he ſhould either be benefited by the one, or hurt by the other (to which purpoſe *Eliphaz* ſaith, *Can a man be profitable unto God? as he that is wiſe may be profitable unto himſelf? Is it any pleaſure to the Almighty that thou art righteous? or is it gain to him that thou makeſt thy ways perfect?* Job 22. 2, 3. and *Elihu*, Job 34. 6, 7, 8. *If thou ſinneſt, what doſt thou againſt him? or if thy tranſgreſſions be multiplyed, what*

what doſt thou unto him? If thou be righteous, what giveſt thou him? or what receiveth he of thine hand? Thy wickedneſs may hurt a man as thou art, and thy righteouſneſs may profit the ſon of man. And *David*, Pſal. 16. 2. *My goodneſs extendeth not to thee)* Yet is it as true that wicked men, who by obſtinate diſobedience are Rebels againſt God, as they alwayes aime at their own ends, which uſually are either all or ſome of theſe three, *Profit*, *Credit*, or *Content*, ſo that they may compaſs their deſires therein, they little regard though God be diſhonoured and diſpleaſed by it. To enrich themſelves they will not ſtick to *rob* him, Mal. 3. 8, 9. to advance their own honour, they care not to *contemn* him, Pſal. 10. 13. and to pleaſe themſelves for a time they little regard how much he is *grieved*, yea *moved unto anger* for ever, Pſal. 78. 40, 58.

For Rebels againſt men, how little they ſet by others, ſo that they may compaſs their own ends, is apparently implied, as a general received truth, in that accuſation ſent againſt the *Jews* to *Artaxerxes*,

erxes, wherein *Jeruſalem* is called *the rebellious and bad City*, Ezra 4. 12. *A rebellious City, and hurtful unto Kings and Provinces*, ver. 15. and mention is particularly made of *damage and diſhonour that would come unto the King by it, if that* (as they pretended it to be) *rebellious City ſhould be builded and fortified*, ver. 13, 14. Unto which City the Prophet *Iſaiah* alſo having ſaid, *Thy Princes are rebellious*, preſently adds, *and companions of thieves: every one loveth gifts, and followeth after rewards: they judge not the fatherleſſe, neither doth the cauſe of the widow come unto them*, Iſa. 1. 23. When the men of *Shechem* ſet lyers in wait for *Abimelech* (whom formerly they had received for their King) in the top of the mountains, *they robbed*, ſaith the text, *all that came along that way by them*, Judg. 9. 25. *Jeroboam* and the ten Tribes having reſolved to rebel againſt *Rehoboam* and the houſe of *David*, when *Rehoboam* ſent *Adoram* that was over the Tribute, the children of *Iſrael* ſtoned him with ſtones that he dyed, 2 Chr. 10. 18. Afterward *Jeroboam*

boam and his ſons caſt off the *Levites* from executing the Prieſts office unto the Lord, Chap. 11. 14. So *Zedekiah* and the Princes of *Judah*, being reſolutely bent to perſiſt in their rebellion againſt the King of *Babylon*, not content to have ſmitten *Jeremiah*, and put him in priſon, would have had him put to death alſo, becauſe by foretelling the ill ſucceſs of their rebellion, they thought that he weakened the hands of the men of war, that remained in the City, and the hands of all the people, Jer. 38. 4, 5.

SECT. XVII.

Self-confounding.

A Sixth may be *Self-confuſion*. Rebels for the moſt part hurt themſelves moſt, when they think to do themſelves moſt good. For *Rebels againſt God* (that is, in a larger ſenſe, all ſinners) the firſt experience of this truth was in the fatal tranſgreſſion of our firſt Parents, who thought by eating the forbidden fruit to become

become wiſer then they were, but loſt the beſt part of that knowledge which before they had, and that not from themſelves alone, but all their poſterity alſo, Gen. 3. 6. And this (though I do not remember that the holy Ghoſt in Scripture ſpeaketh of it by that name) as it was the grand *Rebellion* of all other, that root out of which the reſt all ſpring, ſo it brought the moſt tranſcendent evill with it, univerſal obliquity, and thereby perpetual unavoidable ſubjection to the curſe of God, whereof all the evils both corporal and ſpiritual, both temporal and eternal, that a created nature is capable of, are but ſo many ſeveral items, ſummed up by St. *Paul* into *ſin* as the cauſe, and *death* as the effect, Rom. 5. 12. *By one man ſin entered into the world, and death by ſin; and ſo death paſſed upon all men, for that all have ſinned.* Another much like it in many reſpects was that of the *Babel-builders*, Gen. 11. their intent was to build them *a City and a Tower, whoſe top might reach unto heaven, and to make them a name, that they might not be ſcattered abroad upon the face of the whole earth,*

earth, ver. 4. but the ſucceſs was, they were therefore ſcattered that they might no longer build, ver. 4. the end was conſervation, but the effect was confuſion. And this example is the more pertinent to the purpoſe in hand, becauſe *Nimrod* the mighty hunter before the Lord, the beginning of whoſe Kingdom was *Babel*, Gen. 10. 9, 10. hath his name from *Rebellion*, as was ſhewed before; and is probably thought by Interpreters to have been the ringleader in that curſed enterpriſe, and peradventure was the firſt that attempted by power to prefer ſubordinate Authority in himſelf, before that which was Supreme in his Grandfather *Noah*, who was yet alive. But in ſtead of many particular examples in this kinde one general rule may ſerve, even that of the Prophet *Iſaiah*, Iſa. 1. 19, 20. *If ye be willing and obedient, ye ſhall eat the good of the Land: But if ye refuſe and rebel, ye ſhall be devoured with the Sword: for the mouth of the Lord hath ſpoken it.*

For *Rebels againſt Men*, ſince none can be juſtly branded with that name, but ſuch as, at leaſt in a larger ſenſe, are Rebels againſt

againſt God alſo, becauſe as St. *Paul* ſpeaks, Rom. 13. 1, 2. *There is no Power* (that is, no Authority, for that which he ſpeaks of there is ἐξουσία, not δύναμις) *but of God. The powers that be are ordained of God: whoſoever therefore reſiſteth the Power, reſiſteth the ordinance of God:* it is as impoſſible that rebels ſhould alwayes proſper, although for a time they may prevail in their rebellion, as it is that *the wrath of God* ſhould not in his due time, firſt or laſt, *be revealed from heaven againſt all ungodlineſs and unrighteouſneſs of men, which withhold the truth in unrighteouſneſs*, Rom. 1. 18. And therefore no wonder that St. *Paul* having ſaid, *Let every ſoul be ſubject to the higher Powers*, ſaith alſo, *they that reſiſt ſhall receive to themſelves damnation*: which in effect is the ſame with that of the Prophet *Ezekiel*, Chap. 17. 15, *&c. Shall he proſper? ſhall he eſcape that doth ſuch things? Or ſhall he break the Covenant, and be delivered? As I live, ſaith the Lord God*, &c. What ever wealth or welfare they may propoſe and promiſe to themſelves, God hath threatned a *wo* againſt

againſt rebellious children, Iſa. 30. 1. Yea, by his laws amongſt the *Iſraelites*, he provided for the puniſhment of them, and that with ſuch remarkable ſeverity, as might be a means to terrifie others from attempting the like: whether that *Rebellion* were the private diſobedience of a Son to his natural Parents, as Deut. 21. 18, 19, 20, 21. *If a man have a ſtubborn and rebellious Son, which will not obey the voice of his Father, or the voice of his Mother, and that when they have chaſtened him will not hearken unto them: Then ſhall his Father and his Mother lay hold on him, and bring him out unto the Elders of his City, and unto the gate of his place: And they ſhall ſay unto the Elders of his City, This our Son is ſtubborn, and rebellious, he will not obey our voice, he is a glutton and a drunkard. And all the men of his City ſhall ſtone him with ſtones that he dye: ſo ſhalt thou put evil away from among you, and all* Iſrael *ſhall hear and fear.* Or the publick diſobedience of a Subject to his Eccleſiaſtical or Political Parents, as Deut. 17. 12, 13. *The man that will do preſumptuouſly, and*

will

will not hearken unto the Prieſt (that ſtandeth to miniſter there before the Lord thy God) or unto the judge, even that man ſhall die, and thou ſhalt put away the evil from Iſrael. *And all the people ſhall hear and fear, and do no more preſumptuouſly.* And when men are ſo negligent and careleſs that they will not, or ſo overcome by multitude and power, that they cannot, though they would, bring Rebels to deſerved puniſhment, God himſelf many times takes the cauſe into his own hand, and as himſelf ſpeaks, Deut. 28. 59. *Makes their plagues wonderful.* So Numb. 16. 30, *&c.* for *Korah, Dathan* and *Abiram* the Lord made *a new thing; the ground clave aſunder that was under them: And the earth opened her mouth, and ſwallowed them up, and their houſes, and all the men that appertained unto* Korah, *and all their goods. They, and all that appertained to them, went down alive into the pit, and the earth cloſed upon them: and they periſhed from among the Congregation. And there came out fire from the Lord, and conſumed the* 250 *men that burnt incenſe:* who are by

God

God himſelf expreſly called *ſinners againſt their own ſouls*, ver. 38. So of *Hophni* and *Phinehas* the ſons of *Eli*, it is ſaid, *They hearkened not unto the voice of their Father, becauſe the Lord would ſlay them*, 1 Sam. 2. 25. And of *Zedekiah* it is ſaid, *Through the anger of the Lord it came to paſſe in* Jeruſalem *and* Judah, *until he had caſt them out from his preſence, that* Zedekiah *rebelled againſt the King of* Babylon, 2 King. 24. 20. So, whileſt they went about to break their *yoaks of wood*, they gave God occaſion to put a *yoak of iron* on their necks, as he had told them he would do, Jer. 28. 12, 13, 14. When they thought to provide that the Kingdom might *lift up it ſelf*, and not *be baſe*, they brought it to be none at all: as God by his Prophet *Ezekiel* threatned, Ezek. 17. 12, *&c.* And though he promiſed them at laſt a joyful reſtitution, by the ſame Prophet, Chap. 20. 40, *&c.* yet he tels them before he bring it to paſs, *I will purge out from among you the Rebels, and them that tranſgreſs againſt me: I will bring them out of the Countrey where they ſojourn, and they ſhall not enter into the*

land of Iſrael, ver. 38. The Jews by their *Rebellion* might cauſe themſelves to be caſt out into Captivity, but the return of the remnant that is left muſt be the *work* and the *effect* of *righteouſneſs*, Iſa. 32.17.

SECT. XVIII.

Practiſes *of* Rebels. *Of the King of* Sodom, *&c. Gen.* 14. 4, *&c.*

BUt theſe and ſuch other *properties* of *Rebels* are beſt diſcovered by their *practiſes:* which it will not be amiſs to take ſome notice of, as we finde them particularly recorded by the holy Ghoſt in Scripture, without reducing the circumſtances of them unto ſeveral heads, eſpecially ſuch as have not been already touched upon. For the practiſes of thoſe that have been rebellious againſt God, to inſtance particulars were to multiply infinites, and to undertake an endleſs task. Of thoſe that have been rebellious againſt Men, the firſt particular inſtance given by the holy Ghoſt in Scripture under that notion is, Gen. 14. 4. where ſpeaking of

of the Kings of *Sodom*, *Gomorrah*, *Admah*, *Zebojim*, and *Bela*, he ſaith, *Twelve years they ſerved* Chedorlaomer, *and in the thirteenth year they rebelled*. The word tranſlated *rebelled*, as was before obſerved, properly ſignifieth to forſake or fall away: but in another acceptation it ſignifieth to be miſerable. In both ſenſes it is true of them, concerning whom it is there uſed. For

Firſt, their *Rebellion* in the act thereof was a revolt from a former ſubjection of no leſs then twelve years ſtanding: How they came to be ſubject at the firſt the text doth not tell us, but whether it were by a voluntary ſubmiſſion, or by compulſion, the term of continuance, *twelve years*, ſeems noted of purpoſe to imply ſuch a kinde of after conſent, as might give *Chedorlaomer* at leaſt a colour of pretended right.

Secondly, their *Rebellion* in the ſucceſs thereof was miſerable: For though the odds may ſeem to have been on their ſide, even then when they came to joyn battle in the vale of *Siddim*, *five Kings to four*, beſides ſix other, as it ſhould

ſeem, their aſſociated Nations formerly ſmitten, the *Rephaims*, the *Zuzims*, the *Emims*, the *Horites*, the *Amalekites*, and the *Amorites*, yet God, it may be of purpoſe to ſhew his deteſtation of *Rebellion* at the very firſt appearance of it, delivered them up, and all that they had, into the hands of *Chedorlaomer* and his confederates. Yea *Lot*, that dwelt but as a Sojourner amongſt them, partakes of the ſame miſeries with them, and is taken both himſelf and his goods. It is true indeed, they were reſcued and recovered again by *Abraham*, and *Chedorlaomer* and the Kings that were with him ſlain, but that was for *Lots* ſake, not their own, as appears by that moſt fearful judgement, which they fell by afterward, when they, their Cities, their Countrey, with all the Inhabitants thereof, and that which grew upon the ground, were deſtroyed with brimſtone and fire from the Lord out of heaven, Gen. 19. 24, 25. From which deſtruction though *Lot* were delivered, yet it ſeems it was not with reſpect unto himſelf ſo much as unto *Abraham*, ver. 29. But that which is moſt

moſt remarkable in this example is, that the firſt inſtance of a publick *Rebellion* againſt humane authority recorded in Scripture is of that, which was practiſed by the men of *Sodom*, of whom it is ſaid, that *they were wicked, and ſinners before the Lord exceedingly*, Gen. 13. 13. and yet no mention is made by the holy Ghoſt of any particular evil, whereof they ſtood guilty before he comes to this. And who can tell but that in this reſpect eſpecially the *rebellious Princes* of the Jews, as the Prophet *Iſaiah* cals them, Chap. 1. 23. are ſpoken to as *Rulers of Sodom*, ver. 10. and the whole Nation as *people of Gomorrah*, whom the Prophet *Ezekiel* ſo often termeth *a rebellious houſe?* and particularly in his 17 chap. ver. 12. when he deals with them about *Zedekiahs* rebellion againſt the King of *Babylon*, which was the immediate occaſion of their captivity, and the deſtruction of *Jeruſalem*: which the Prophet *Jeremiah* compares unto the overthrow of *Sodom*, not as an equal only, but a greater evil, when he ſaith, *The puniſhment of the iniquity of the daughter of my people is*

greater then the puniſhment of the ſin of Sodom, *that was overthrown in a moment, and no hand ſtayed on her*, Lam. 4. 6. And in all probability, or rather out of doubt, the Prophet *Iſaiah* ſpeaketh of the ſame, when he ſaith, *Your countrey is deſolate, your Cities are burnt with fire, your land ſtrangers devour it in your preſence, and it is deſolate as overthrown by ſtrangers. And the daughter of* Zion *is left as a cottage in a vineyard, as a lodge in a garden of Cucumbers, as a beſieged City. Except the Lord of hoſts had left unto us a very ſmall remnant, we ſhould have been as* Sodom, *and we ſhould have been like unto* Gomorrah, Iſa. 1. 7, 8, 9. and then immediately in the next verſe addeth, *Hear the Word of the Lord, ye Rulers of* Sodom, *give ear unto the Law of our God, ye people of* Gomorrah. Nor doth he compare the *Jews* to them of *Sodom* for their puniſhment only, but for their ſin alſo, Chap. 3. 9. *The ſhew of their countenance doth witneſs againſt them, and they declare their ſin as* Sodom, *they hide it not: wo unto their ſoul, for they have rewarded evil unto themſelves.*

Which

Which laſt clauſe of the verſe, although it be true of every puniſhment for every ſin, that the ſinner himſelf is the meritorious cauſe of his own ſuffering, yet was it moſt remarkable in the deſtruction of *Jeruſalem*, which might have been prevented, if *Zedekiah* and the *Jews* would by any means have been perſwaded to deſiſt from their *Rebellion*, which God by his Prophet *Jeremiah* ſo oft and ſo earneſtly laboured to have withdrawn them from. And, as if *Rebellion* were of all other ſins the moſt proper cauſe of ruin, and moſt fatal to the Nation of the *Jews* and the City *Jeruſalem*, the laſt and greateſt deſolation of it by the *Romans*, both under *Veſpaſian*, *Trajan* and *Adrian* the Emperors, was particularly occaſioned by their own Rebellion, as the hiſtories of thoſe times declare. Which becauſe it happened not until thoſe times were run out, unto which the ſacred ſtory extendeth, I would not now have mentioned, but that it may ſerve for an anſwer, if any ſhould think thoſe paſſages of the Prophets, not to have reſpect ſo much to the former deſtruction of the *Jews* by the *Aſſyrians*, as

to the later under the *Romans*, when this, as well as that, ſhall appear to have had their own *Rebellion* for its next immediate cauſe. However *Rebellion* muſt needs be acknowledged a ſin of *Sodom*, eſpecially ſince the *Sodomites* are the firſt that the holy Ghoſt in Scripture hath taxed for the practiſe thereof.

SECT. XIX.

Of Korah *and his Companions. Numb.* 16. 1, &c.

THe next of the ſame nature, recorded under the ſame notion, is that of *Korah* and his Companions, Numb. 16. 1, *&c.* Wherein, beſides that which hath been noted already, this is moſt obſervable, that the quarrel began about *Principality* and *Prelacy*. *Moſes* the Supreme Civil Magiſtrate, or *King* in *Jeſurun*, as he is called, Deut. 33. 5. and *Aaron* the High Prieſt, or *the Saint of the Lord*, as he is called, Pſal. 106. 16. are thoſe againſt whom (if not their malice, yet) their envy is eſpecially bent, and

and it ſhould ſeem againſt *Moſes* moſt for *Aarons* ſake, becauſe they might not all be Prieſts as well as he, Numb. 16. 9, 10, 11. And the reaſon which they urge for themſelves is a pretended equal intereſt that all Gods people had unto his ſpecial preſence with them: for ſanctification, which *Moſes* and *Aaron* they thought laid too much claim unto, and went about to engroſs unto themſelves, ver. 3. *They gathered themſelves together againſt* Moſes *and* Aaron, *and ſaid unto them, Ye take too much upon you, ſeeing all the Congregation are holy, every one of them, and the Lord is among them: wherefore then lift you up your ſelves above the congregation of the Lord?* Wherein they may ſeem to have ſpecial relation unto that of Exod. 19. 6. *Ye ſhall be unto me a Kingdom of Prieſts, and an holy Nation:* and ſo to have warrant from divine Authority for what they pretend, yea ſuch as *Moſes* muſt not deny, except he will expreſly contradict himſelf. But by this we may ſee, that the Word of God it ſelf is not a ſufficient warrant for any thing, that is not agreeable

able unto his purpoſely intended will therein, which as it plainly there appears was not, that *holineſs* ſhould be alwayes underſtood in one and the ſame ſenſe, but ſometimes more largely, ſo that all Gods people might be ſaid to be holy, and ſometimes more ſtrict'y, ſo that ſome alone, and not others, might be ſaid to be his Saints, or holy ones. And for *neerneſs unto God*, that though in one ſenſe all may be called, and ſo have right to come near unto him as his people, yet in another ſenſe not all indifferently, but ſome in a ſpecial manner above others, are choſen by himſelf, and cauſed to come near unto him as his Prieſts. Which holineſs and nearneſs unto God in reſpect of publick office and employment, when *Korah* and his companions would have confounded with that which was ſuch in reſpect of particular private endowments, or of outward general profeſſion only, and thought to make that as well as this indifferently common unto all, God himſelf takes the matter ſo to heart, that he doth not only puniſh them ſeverely for that which they had done already,

already, but to prevent the like attempts for the future, gives order that *the cenſers of thoſe ſinners againſt their own ſouls*, wherewith they that were burnt had offered, ſhould be *made broad plates for a covering of the Altar, to be a memorial to the children of* Iſrael, *that no ſtranger, which is not of the ſeed of* Aaron, *come near to offer incenſe before the Lord, that he be not as* Korah *and his company*, ver. 40. Though God will have no reſpect unto the incenſe which is offered by rebellious *Korah* and his company, yet their cenſers muſt do ſome ſervice in his Sanctuary, and being (though but abuſively) applyed to an holy uſe, muſt not be put to any common imployment. And further he commandeth *Aarons rod* that budded to be brought *before the teſtimony, to be kept for a token againſt the Rebels*, that *Moſes* might *quite take away their murmurings from him*, and *they not die*, chap. 17. 10. Which for the preſent wrought ſo upon the children of *Iſrael*, that they ſpake unto *Moſes*, ſaying, *Behold, we die, we periſh, we all periſh, whoſoever cometh any thing near*

the

the Tabernacle of the Lord ſhall die. Shall we be conſumed with dying? ver. 12, 13. And this was whileſt yet the *Iſraelites* were wandering in the wilderneſs: whileſt *Moſes*, that was *faithful in all the houſe of God*, and *Aaron*, *the Saint of the Lord*, were both alive, even then the *Principality* of the one, and *Prelacy* of the other ſeem ſuch intolerable grievances, that unleſs they will deſcend from the height of their perpetual preſidency, and ſubmit themſelves unto, if not an independent, yet at leaſt a Presbyterial parity, they mnſt expect no peaceable communion with, much leſs obedient conformity from, ſuch popular pretenders unto holineſs, as *Korah*, *Dathan* and *Abiram* are. What would they have done, had they been already poſſeſſed of their promiſed inheritance in the land of *Canaan*, and in ſtead of a *Moſes* and an *Aaron* had been to live under a *Saul* and an *Eli?* God was not ignorant, as appears when he ſaith, *I know their imaginations, which they go about even now, before I have brought them into the land which I ſware*, Deut. 31. 21. Nor *Moſes*, for he likewiſe

likewiſe ſaith, ver. 27. *I know thy Rebellion and thy ſtiff neck. Behold, while I am yet alive with you this day, ye have been rebellious againſt the Lord: and how much more after my death?* And therefore God doubles his care of prevention, and provides that whether they look upon the *Altar* without, or think upon the *Ark of the Teſtimony* within the vail; they may meet with a mark of remembrance in either to make them for ever beware of *Rebellion*, as that which they muſt conceive to be inconſiſtent with both the internal power and external profeſſion of the true Religion. And yet concerning this *Rebellion* of *Korah* and his companions we finde no mention made of any force of armes that they raiſed, or any violence that was offered by them, either unto *Moſes*, or unto *Aaron*, or unto any that appertained or adhered to them, either in their perſons or in their goods: all that they did was to gather together, and by word of mouth to plead againſt the preeminence that *Moſes* and *Aaron* had over them: yet even that made them a burthen too heavy for

for the earth to bear. Which the holy Ghoſt may ſeem to have ſome relation to, when he ſaith, *For three things the earth is diſquieted, and for four which it cannot bear, For a ſervant when he raigneth*, &c. Prov. 30. 21, 22, 23. Such an intolerable evil it is for them that ſhould be Subject to ſeek to be Supreme: for *the childe to behave himſelf proudly againſt the ancient, and the baſ againſt the honourable*, as the Prophet *Iſaiah* complains, Iſa. 3. 5.

Sect. XX.

Of the Iſraelites, *Numb.* 20. 1, &c.

A Third particular example, of the practiſes of them that have been Rebellious againſt men, may be that of the *Iſraelites*, Numb. 20. when *they gathered themſelves together againſt* Moſes *and* Aaron, *and chode with* Moſes, ver. 2, 3. for which *Moſes* (though *meek above all the men which were upon the face of the earth*, Numb. 12. 3.) expreſly cals them *Rebels*, ver. 10. The word tranſlated

tranſlated *and they chode*, וירב, though it properly ſignifie no more but to plead or ſtrive with multitude of words, yet the circumſtances of the ſtory ſhew plainly the contention was carryed with ſuch earneſtneſs of affection, or rather violence of paſſion, that it was likely to have ended in blows, if God had not interpoſed the evidence of his ſpecial preſence to prevent it, ver. 6. For ſo *Moſes* plainly ſhews in his complaint unto God upon that occaſion, Exod. 17. 4. *What ſhall I do unto this people? they be almoſt ready to ſtone me.* Though Rebels perhaps begin but with words, yet if courſe be not taken to repreſs them in time, they ſeldome end ſo: for, as *Solomon* ſpeaks, Prov. 15. 1. *Grievous words ſtir up anger:* and Prov. 17. 14. *The beginning of ſtrife is as when one letteth out water: therefore leave off contention before it be medled with.* But that which I would eſpecially take notice of here, is the occaſion of the contention, *there was no water for the Congregation*, ver. 2. whereupon in a wayward diſcontentedneſs, they break out into a repining expoſtulation

poſtulation with *Moſes* and *Aaron* for that which they had done by Gods direction, yea for what God himſelf had done in mercy towards them, ver. 3, 4. *Would God we had dyed, when our brethren dyed before the Lord. And why have ye brought up the Congregation of the Lord into this wilderneſs, that we and our cattel ſhould die there?* Rebels for the moſt part are ever diſcontented with their preſent eſtate, and will rather finde fault with former favours, then ſeem to want preſent cauſe of complaint: that they live muſt be laid to *Moſes* his charge, if their life be not ſuch as they themſelves would have it. If they lack any thing which God in his providence deprives them of, or elſe withholds from them, they grumble at their Governours, though they guide them that way, which God himſelf doth go before them in. All that they have is nothing worth with them, whileſt they want any thing that they would have. They will not let *Moſes* and *Aaron* alone, although they be told that *their murmurings are not againſt them, but againſt the Lord*, Exod. 16. 8. It was not long

ago

agoe ſince the anger of the Lord was kindled againſt *Aaron* and *Miriam*, in ſo much that *Miriam* was *ſtricken with leproſie*, only for ſpeaking againſt *Moſes*, Numb. 12. 1, 9, 10. which they could not be ignorant of: nor how often already *Moſes* had *ſtood before God in the breach to turn away his wrath, leſt he ſhould deſtroy them*, Pſal. 106. 23. and *Aaron, between the living and the dead, to make an atonement for them, that the plague which was begun amongſt them might be ſtayed*, Numb. 16. 46, 47, 48. Nor how their *want of bread* had been ſupplyed from heaven with *Angels food*, Pſal. 78. 25. and their *luſt for fleſh* even cloyed, if not ſatisfied, with *Quails*, Numb. 11. yet *want of water* waſheth away the remembrance of all this, and a *rebellious* diſpoſition rooted in their hearts, prevails above all experience both of judgements and mercies, breaking forth into murmurings upon every light occaſion. It is not the higheſt authority that can be under heaven, though accompanied with the greateſt integrity and innocence, that any meer man could

ever boaſt of ſince the fall of *Adam*, that is able to exempt the poſſeſſours thereof from the ſtrivings of the people, when *Moſes* and *Aaron* are ſo often expoſed to the chidings of rebellious *Iſraelites*.

SECT. XXI.

Of Jeroboam *and the ten Tribes*, 1 *King.* 12. 19, &c.

THe fourth in this kinde that I will mention is that of *Jeroboam* and the ten Tribes: wherein, beſides that which hath been obſerved already, there are theſe remarkable particulars.

Firſt, that *Jeroboam* the head of that rebellious body was a man of excellent endowments, *a mighty man of valour*, and *induſtrious*: eminently preferred by *Solomon*, for he *made him ruler over all the charge of the houſe of* Joſeph, 1 King. 11. 28. yet *Jeroboam* is the man above all the reſt to ſet forward the *Rebellion* againſt *Rehoboam Solomons* Son. So eaſily are all obligations of thankfulneſs utterly

ly cancelled in rebellious breaſts, when once men of active abilities, and aſpiring minds, meet with fit opportunities of advancing their ambitious ends.

But perhaps it will be ſaid, *That* Jeroboam *and the ten Tribes did no more in this then God himſelf had fore-ordained ſhould be done, yea foretold unto him by* Ahijah *the Prophet, ver.* 29, *&c. And can* Jeroboam *and the ten Tribes be blamed for that, which was done by them, not only according unto the determinate counſel of God, but even his revealed will alſo?*

To this it may be anſwered, That what is foretold by the Prophet *Ahijah*, concerns not the *action* done by *Jeroboam* and the ten Tribes, but only the *event* thereof. There is nothing by way of *precept* commanded, either unto him or them, but only by way of *prediction* a diſcovery made of what God himſelf intended to inflict as a puniſhment, not only upon the poſterity of *Solomon*, but alſo upon all the ten Tribes of *Iſrael* for their Idolatry, ver. 31, *&c.* And precedent *predictions* of future events are ſo

far from carrying the nature of *precepts* to warrant the actions of thoſe perſons, whom God in his providence permits to be inſtruments of bringing thoſe events to paſs, that ſometimes they ſeem rather to put on the condition of *caveats* to give them warning, that they preſume not to interpoſe themſelves as Gods coadjutors in his own undertakings, unleſs they have their commiſſion from him: which when they do, it commonly ſucceeds with them accordingly. When *Sarai* was barren, and it may be paſt hope of bearing children her ſelf, God promiſed *Abram* that *he that ſhould come out of his own bowels ſhould be his heir*, Gen. 15. 4. yet that was not a ſufficient warrant for *Sarai* to perſwade her husband to *go in unto her maid*, Gen. 16. 2. nor did ſhe paſſe altogether unpuniſhed for that prepoſterous courſe: for *when* Hagar *ſaw that ſhe had conceived, her miſtreſs was deſpiſed in her eyes*, ver. 4. When *Rebekah* had *two nations in her wombe*, God told her that *the one people ſhould be ſtronger then the other people, and that the elder ſhould ſerve the yonger*, Gen. 25. 23. Yet that

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was no juſt excuſe for *Jacobs* lie, where-with his Mother inſtructed him to take away his brother *Eſaus* bleſſing, Gen. 27. nor had either he or ſhe any great joy of it for the preſent, he being forced to flee for his life, and ſhe doubting to be deprived of both her Sons in one day, ver. 45. Nor ſped he very well when he came to *Padan-Aram*, being ſerved (as we uſe to ſay) with his own ſawce, and having after ſeven years ſervice for a beautiful *Rachel* a bleer-eyed *Leah* brought to his bed, his own mothers brother deceiving him with the elder ſiſter in ſtead of the yonger, as his mother before had taught him to deceive his own Father with the yonger brother in ſtead of the elder: and we know what befel him afterwards, in ſo much that himſelf being asked of his age by *Pharaoh*, plainly confeſſeth, *few and evil have the dayes of the years of my life been*, Gen. 47. 9. God did not only tell *Moſes* before-hand, *I am ſure the King of* Egypt *will not let you go, no not by a mighty hand*, Exod. 3. 19. but *Moſes* alſo tels *Pharaoh* himſelf as much in effect, Chap. 9. 30. *As*

for thee and thy ſervants, I know that ye will not yet fear the Lord God. But neither their ſin nor their puniſhment was any thing the leſſe for that. All the evil that *Abſalom* either acted or attempted towards his Father *David,* was foretold by the Prophet *Nathan,* as that which God himſelf would raiſe up againſt him out of his own houſe, for his Adultery with *Bathſheba,* and his Murther of *Uriah,* 2 Sam. 12. 9, *&c.* yet that doth not juſtifie *Abſalom* in any thing that he practiſed or purpoſed againſt his Father. Yea, our Saviour himſelf told *Judas* it was he that ſhould betray him, Matth. 26. 25. and more then that ſaid unto him, *That thou doſt do quickly,* Joh. 13. 27. yet neverthelefs foretold his wo as well as his wickedneſs, Matth. 26. 24. *Wo unto that man by whom the Son of man is betrayed: it had been good for that man if he had not been born.* So little avails it men to be employed as inſtruments in accompliſhing the ſecret counſels of God, unleſs in their actions they order themſelves according to the rule of his revealed will. Although it be

good

good that ſin ſhould be puniſhed, yet no man is allowed to ſin himſelf in puniſhing the ſins of others: for then men might ſay, *Let us do evil that good may come*, which is doomed by St. *Paul* to juſt damnation, Rom. 3. 8. And that *Jeroboam* had no juſt cauſe to think himſelf warranted in what he did by the Propheſie of *Ahijah*, may further appear, if we conſider how different the courſe of Gods dealing with him is from that, which on the like occaſions he took both with *David* and *Jehu*. When *Saul had rejected the word of the Lord, and the Lord had rejected him from being King over* Iſrael, as *Samuel* tels him, 1 Sam. 1. 15. though *David*, to whom God had given the Kingdom of *Iſrael*, muſt not enter into the poſſeſſion of it till after *Sauls* deceaſe, yet *Samuel* by Gods appointment muſt annoint him King in *Sauls* life time: and *from that day forward*, ſaith the text, *the Spirit of the Lord came upon* David, 1 Sam. 16. 13. So *David* had in *Sauls* time both an inward and an outward calling to the Kingdom, yet ſtill ſtands affected

and behaves himſelf towards him as the Lords anointed. And when the ſpirit of that Ruler (though indeed a wicked one) roſe up againſt him, he left not his place (the place wherein he ſtood as a Subject unto *Saul* his Soveraign) but by yielding (that reſpect which was due unto him in regard of that high place, unto which he was called by God) did more then once pacifie the great offence which *Saul* had taken at him. So when God had a purpoſe by the hand of *Jehu* the Son of *Nimſhi* to deſtroy *Baal* out of *Iſrael*, and to cut off the poſterity of *Ahab*, who *ſold himſelf to work wickedneſs*, one of the children of the Prophets is ſent in the name of God *to anoint him King over his people, even over* Iſrael, and to tell him plainly, not only what God himſelf would do, but likewiſe what he would have done by him, 2 King. 9. 6, *&c.* which God doth ſo much approve of, that he tels him, Chap. 10. 30. *Becauſe thou haſt done well in executing that which was right in mine eyes, and haſt done unto the houſe of* Ahab, *according to all that was in my heart, thy children unto the fourth*

fourth generation ſhall ſit upon the throne of Iſrael. But there is no ſuch thing at all mentioned concerning *Jeroboam*, that he was by the Prophet in the name of God anointed King, but made by the people only, 1 King. 12. 20. whereupon God himſelf by his Prophet *Hoſea* complains, *They have ſet up Kings, but not by me: they have made Princes, and I knew it not*, Hoſ. 8. 4. And this even then when there was a King already, *Rehoboam* the ſon of *Solomon*, unto whom they ought to have been ſubject, both they and their pretended King. In which reſpect *Abijah* tels them plainly, *Jeroboam the ſon of* Nebat, *the ſervant of* Solomon *the ſon of* David, *is riſen up, and rebelled againſt his Lord*, 2 Chr. 13. 6. So that *Jeroboams* Rebellion was both an act of injuſtice, and an act of ingratitude, to exalt himſelf above the ſon of him by whom himſelf had been preferred.

Secondly, in this Rebellion of *Jeroboam* and the ten Tribes the pretended occaſion, which they take advantage of, is very obſervable. They complain of former

mer grievances, a heavy yoak which *Solomon* had put upon them, and they would have his ſon to make it lighter, 1 King. 12. 4. But how little juſt cauſe they had to complain may be gathered from that which is ſaid, Chap. 4. 25. Judah *and* Iſrael *dwelt ſafely, every man under his vine, and under his fig-tree, from* Dan *even unto* Beerſheba, all the dayes of *Solomon:* and Chap. 9. 20, *&c. All the people that were left of the* Amorites, Hittites, Perizzites, Hivites *and* Jebuſites, *which were not of the children of* Iſrael, *their children that were left after them in the land, whom the children of* Iſrael *alſo were not able utterly to deſtroy, upon thoſe did* Solomon *levy a tribute of bond-ſervice unto this day. But of the children of* Iſrael *did* Solomon *make no bondmen: but they were men of war, and his Servants, and his Princes, and his Captains, and Rulers of his Charets, and his horſemen.* Yea, Chap. 10. 27. *The King made ſilver to be in* Jeruſalem *as ſtones, and cedars made he to be as the Sycomore trees, that are in the vale for abundance.* All this notwithſtanding they complain of *grievous ſervice,*

vice, and an *heavy yoak*. But the great fault of *Solomons* Government indeed, which was *Idolatry*, that they make no mention of. A wrongfully ſuppoſed reſtraint of their own intended liberty makes a great noiſe in the mouths of *Jeroboam* and the ten Tribes of *Iſrael*, when they are minded to *rebel*, whileſt the great wrong done unto God himſelf in matter of Religion is as little regarded, as if there were no ſuch thing at all. But this their complaint may ſeem to have had ſo little colour of any juſt cauſe, that it is not eaſie to conceive how it could be believed by themſelves to be true, but only that they ſought an occaſion thereby to pick a quarrel with *Rehoboam*. His anſwer indeed was very unadviſed, *My Father made your yoak heavy* (taking it for granted as true that you pretend) *but I will add to your yoak: my Father alſo chaſtiſed you with whips* (to ſuppoſe that alſo true) *but I will chaſtiſe you with ſcorpions*, Chap. 19. 14. An anſwer as fit for *Jeroboams* purpoſe, as if the young men that gave *Rehoboam* counſel to ſay ſo, had minded nothing more then his confuſion.

confuſion. But the cauſe was from the Lord, ſaith the text, ver. 15. *that he might perform his ſaying, which the Lord ſpake by* Ahijah *the* Shilonite *unto* Jeroboam *the ſon of* Nebat. It is not very likely that *Rehoboam* had any intent to do as he ſaid, as ſome Interpreters are of opinion, but rather taking it in ſcorn that Subjects ſhould preſume to put any conditions upon their Soveraign, he would manifeſt his indignation towards them for it by an anſwer as unreaſonable, as their demand appeared unto him undutiful. However we may ſee how ready *Jeroboam* and the *Iſraelites* are, as ſoon as an opportunity of advantage is offered them, to run away with it. Their motion takes not at the firſt, they ſtay not to trouble *Rehoboam* with another requeſt, but forthwith renounce their Allegiance, and diſclaim any longer ſubjection unto his Authority; ſaying, *What portion have we in* David? *neither have we inheritance in the ſon of* Jeſſe: *to your tents,* ô Iſrael; *now ſee to thine own houſe* David, ver. 16. As though it had not been enough to revolt from their obedience unto *Rehoboam* and caſt

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what aſperſion they thought fit upon the Government of *Solomon* his Father alſo, unleſs they could draw in *David* too, and utterly extirpate all reſpect unto that Royal Family both in root and branches.

Thirdly, the Gall and Wormwood, that this root of bitterneſs *Rebellion* bore, of all the reſt is moſt remarkable. Their revolt to Idolatry I mentioned before, and their ſacrilegious Sequeſtration of the Prieſthood from the ſons of *Levi*, to prefer into their places the loweſt of the people.

That which I will now take notice of is, How ill it proſpered with them. *This thing*, ſaith the text, *became ſin unto the houſe of* Jeroboam, *even to cut it off, and to deſtroy it from off the face of the earth*, 1 King. 13. 34. At the firſt indeed, when all the houſe of *Judah* with the Tribe of *Benjamin* were aſſembled, an hundred and fourſcore thouſand men which were *warriours*, to *fight againſt the houſe of* Iſrael, *to bring the Kingdom again to* Rehoboam *the ſon of* Solomon; they were directed by God to deſiſt from that attempt:

attempt: and ſo they did, 1 King. 12.21, *&c.* yet there *was war between* Rehoboam *and* Jeroboam *all their dayes*, Chap. 14. 30. Nor did it end with the death of *Rehoboam*, but there was war between *Abijah* his Son and *Jeroboam*; and *Abijah ſet the battle in aray againſt* Jeroboam *with an Army of valiant men of war, even four hundred thouſand choſen men*, 2 Chr. 13. 2, *&c.* The ſucceſs of which battle was ſuch that, though *Jeroboams* Army were in number two to one, even *eight hundred thouſand choſen men, being mighty men of valour*, ver. 3. yet *the children of* Iſrael *fled before* Judah; *and God delivered them into their hand. And* Abijah *and his people ſlew them with a great ſlaughter: ſo there fell down ſlain of* Iſrael *five hundred thouſand choſen men*, ver. 16, 17. *Neither did* Jeroboam *recover ſtrength again in the dayes of* Abijah: *and the Lord ſtroke him, and he dyed*, ver. 20. And, though his ſon *Nadab* ſucceeded him in the Kingdom, yet he reigned but a while, for *Baaſha* conſpired againſt him, and ſmote him and ſlew him, and reigned in his ſtead: yea,

yea, *he ſmote all the houſe of* Jeroboam, *he left not to* Jeroboam *any that breathed, until he had deſtroyed him, according to the ſaying of the Lord, which he ſpake by his ſervant* Ahijah *the* Shilonite, 1 King. 15. 27, 28, 29. which was that *he would take away the remnant of the houſe of* Jeroboam, *as a man taketh away dung till all be gone*, Chap. 14. 10. Nor had *Baaſha* better ſucceſs then *Jeroboam*; for his ſon *Elah* was ſlain in the like manner, and all the houſe of *Baaſha* deſtroyed, by his ſervant *Zimri*, who reigned in his ſtead, Chap. 16.8, *&c.* But his reign was not long: for ſeven dayes did meaſure both it and the remainder of his life, ver. 15, *&c.* Then were the people of *Iſrael* divided into two parts; *half of the people followed* Tibni *the ſon of* Ginah *to make him King: and half followed* Omri. *But the people that followed* Omri *prevailed againſt the people that followed* Tibni *the ſon of* Ginah: *ſo* Tibni *dyed and* Omri *reigned*, ver. 21, 22. And though *Omri* had the ſucceſſion of the Kingdom continued, not only in his ſon *Ahab*, but alſo in his two grandchildren

Ahaziah

Ahaziah and *Jehoram*, yet then it was cut off by *Jehu* the ſon of *Nimſhi*, who conſpired againſt his Maſter *Jehoram*, and *ſlew him*, 2 King. 9. 10. *Yea he ſlew all that remained of the houſe of* Ahab *in* Jezreel, *and all his great men and his kinſfolks, and his Prieſts, until he left him none remaining*, ver. 11. Then though the ſucceſſion were continued in the poſterity of *Jehu* longer then of any that were before him, *ſo that his children of the fourth generation ſate on the Throne of* Iſrael, ver. 30. yet *in thoſe dayes the Lord began to cut* Iſrael *ſhort: and* Hazael *ſmote them in all the coaſts of* Iſrael, ver. 32. *The King of* Syria *deſtroyed them, and made them like the duſt by threſhing*, Chap. 13. 7. yea, *the affliction of* Iſrael *was very bitter: for there was not any ſhut up, nor any left, nor any helper for* Iſrael, Chap. 14. 20. Then againſt *Zachariah* the laſt of *Jehu* his generation, who reigned but ſix moneths, *Shallum* the ſon of *Jabeſh* conſpired, and *ſlew him, and reigned in his ſtead a full moneth*, Chap. 15. 10, 13. Againſt him *Menahem* the ſon of *Gadi went up from* Tirzah,

Tirzah, *and ſmote him, and ſlew him, and reigned in his ſtead ten years*, ver. 14, 17. yea *he ſmote* Tiphſah, *and all that were therein, and the coaſts thereof from* Tirzah, *becauſe they opened not to him, therefore he ſmote it, and all the women therein that were with childe he ript up*, ver. 16. In *his dayes* Pul *the King of* Aſſyria *came againſt the land: and* Menahem *gave* Pul *a thouſand talents of ſilver, that his hand might be with him, to confirm the Kingdom in his hand. But* Menahem *exacted the money of* Iſrael, *even of all the mighty men of Wealth, of each man* 50 *ſhekels of ſilver, to give to the King of* Aſſyria, ver. 19, 20. After *Menahem, Pekahiah* his ſon *reigned* in his ſtead *two years*, ver. 22, 23. But *Pekah* the ſon of *Remaliah*, a Captain of his conſpired againſt him, and *killed him, and reigned* in his room *twenty years*, ver. 25, 27. *In his dayes came* Tiglath-Pileſer *King of* Aſſyria, *and took* Iion, *and* Abel-Beth-maach, *and* Janoah, *and* Kedeſh, *and* Hazor, *and* Gilead, *and* Galilee, *all the land of* Naphtali, *and carryed them captive to* Aſſyria. *And* Hoſhea *the ſon of*

Elah *made a conſpiracy againſt* Pekah *the ſon of* Remaliah, *and ſmote him, and reigned in his ſtead*, ver. 29, 30. Hoſhea *reigned in* Samaria *over* Iſrael, *nine years. And he did that which was evill in the ſight of the Lord, but not as the Kings of* Iſrael *that were before him* (which yet is the beſt teſtimony given by the holy Ghoſt to any of them) Againſt him came up *Shalmaneſer* King of *Aſſyria*, and *Hoſhea* became his ſervant, and *gave him preſents* (or rendred him tribute) And *the King of* Aſſyria *found conſpiracy in* Hoſhea: *for he had ſent meſſengers to So King of* Egypt, *and brought no preſent to the King of* Aſſyria, *as he had done year by year: therefore the King of* Aſſyria *ſhut him up and bound him in priſon. Then the King of* Aſſyria *came up thorowout all the land, and went up to* Samaria, *and beſieged it three years. In the ninth year of* Hoſhea, *the King of* Aſſyria *took* Samaria, *and carryed* Iſrael *away into* Aſſyria, *and placed them in* Halah, *and in* Habor, *by the River of* Gozan, *and in the Cities of the* Medes, Chap. 17. 1, *&c.*

So

So that in the divided Kingdom of *Iſrael.*

Ultima reſpondent primis, ſervatur ad imum
Qualis ab incepto proceſſerat, & ſibi conſtat
Progreſſus ſcelerum: ———

As it was raiſed, ſo it was ruined by Rebellion. And though the Lord ſaid not that *he would blot out the name of* Iſrael *from under heaven*, Chap. 14. 27. *Yet he removed* Iſrael *out of his ſight, as he had ſaid by all his ſervants the Prophets: ſo* Iſrael *was carryed away out of their own land to* Aſſyria, *unto this day*, Chap. 17. 23. Such a woful exchange did *Jeroboam* and the ten Tribes make, when they rent themſelves from the houſe of *David*, and ſuch was the ſucceſs of their Rebellion from the firſt to the laſt: as they never returned unto their allegiance, ſo they never recovered their Religion, nor ſhall do the one without the other. For howſoever by the *reſurrection of the dry bones*, Ezek. 37. 1, *&c.* the dead hope of *Iſrael* is revived, and God by his Prophet tels them expreſly, *Be-*

hold, oh my people, I will open your graves, and cauſe you to come up out of your graves, and bring you into the land of Iſrael. *And ye ſhall know that I am the Lord, when I have opened your graves, ô my people, and brought you up out of your graves, and ſhall put my ſpirit in you, and ye ſhall live, and I ſhall place you in your own land,* ver. 12, 13, 14. yet he ſhews them withall what courſe he will take to bring it to paſs, ver. 19. *Thus ſaith the Lord God, behold, I will take the ſtick of* Joſeph, *which is in the hand of* Ephraim, *and the tribes of* Iſrael *his fellows, and will put them with him, even with the ſtick of* Judah, *and make them one ſtick, and they ſhall be one in mine hand.* And ver. 21, *&c. Behold, I will take the children of* Iſrael, *from among the Heathen*, &c. Whereby it is evident that *the Tabernacle of David*, which is *fallen*, and the *ruins* thereof muſt be *built* again and *ſet up*, that the reſidue of men may ſeek after the Lord, and *and all the* Gentiles *upon whom his name is called*: as that paſſage of the Prophet *Amos*, Chap. 9. 11, *&c.* is expreſly applyed by St. *James*, Act. 15. 16, 17.

16, 17. As the loſſe of their *Religion* was the fruit of their *Rebellion*, ſo the reſtitution of their Religion, and the reunion of them all under the Government of one King muſt come together as inſeparable aſſociates.

A great deal more to the ſame purpoſe may be found in other places of that and the other Prophets: And if the relation between all other Superiors and their Inferiors, and eſpecially been Supreme Civil Magiſtrates and their Subjects, may fitly be underſtood by that of *Parents* and their *Children* (as it is certain ſuch expreſſions are oftentimes uſed by the holy Ghoſt in Scripture to that purpoſe) I ſee not why that of the Prophet *Malachy*, Chap. 4. 6. *He ſhall turn the heart of the Fathers to their children, and the heart of the children to their Fathers, leſt I come and ſmite the earth with a curſe* (ſpoken of *Elijah* the Prophet, when he ſhall be ſent to the people of God before the coming of the great and dreadful day of the Lord) may not be underſtood of ſome extraordinary reſtauration of that mutual good correſpondence which

anciently was between Superiours and Inferiours, when thoſe that ruled over men were juſt, *ruling as in the fear of the Lord*, and they that were ſubject *ſubmitted themſelves unto every ordinance of man for the Lords ſake*, when *David delivered from the ſtrivings of the people, and made the head of the Heathen*, Pſal. 18. 43. *fed* Jacob *and* Iſrael *according unto the integrity of his heart, and guided them by the skilfulneſs of his hands*, Pſal. 78. 72. when *he reigned over all* Iſrael, *and executed judgement and juſtice unto all his people*, 2 Sam. 8. 15. and *when whatſoever the King did pleaſed all the people*, 2 Sam. 3. 36. At leaſt, if we may conceive (as ſome Interpreters do) that there is yet a further accompliſhment of that propheſie concerning *Elijah* to be expected, beſides that which our Saviour expreſly tels his Diſciples was fulfilled in *John the Baptiſt*, Mat. 11. 14. as it is not to be doubted, but that there is yet a greater and much more dreadful *day of the Lord* to come hereafter, then ever hath been hitherto. And, if ſo, out of queſtion the nearer

that

that day doth approach, the more they call for a curſe to ſmite the earth, that in ſtead of *going before the Lord in the ſpirit and power of* Elias, *to turn the hearts of the Fathers to the children, and the diſobedient to the wiſdom of the juſt, to make ready a people prepared for the Lord,* as the Angel foretels *John the Baptiſt* ſhould do, Luk. 1. 17. have rather *forſaken the right way, and are gone aſtray, following the way of* Balaam *the ſon of* Boſor, *who loved the wages of unrighteouſneſs, ſpeaking perverſe things to draw away diſciples after them, and teaching things which they ought not, for filthy lucre ſake, even to deſpiſe dominion, and ſpeak evil of dignities*, to turn away the hearts of the children from their Fathers, and thoſe that either are or ſhould be wiſe to the diſobedience of the unrighteous. If it be in the *unity of the faith* that men muſt *come unto the meaſure of the ſtature of the fulneſs of Chriſt*, and if we muſt *ſpeak the truth in love, that we may grow up into him in all things which is the head, even Chriſt*, Eph. 4. 13. 15. no wonder that St. *Paul* deals ſo

earneſtly, as he doth with the *Epheſians*, ver. 1, 2, 3. *I therefore the priſoner of the Lord beſeech you, that ye walke worthy of the vocation wherewith ye are called, with all lowlineſs and meekneſs, with long-ſuffering, forbearing one another in love: Endeavouring to keep the unity of the ſpirit in the bond of peace.* And with the *Romans*, Chap. 16. 17, 18. *I beſeech you, brethren, mark them which cauſe diviſions and offences, contrary to the doctrine which ye have learned, and avoid them. For they that are ſuch ſerve not our Lord* Jeſus Chriſt, *but their own belly, and by good words and fair ſpeeches deceive the hearts of the ſimple.* For by that long induction of *ones*, Eph. 4. 4, 5, 6. *One body, and one ſpirit*, &c. it is evident that diviſion may tend to the diſſolution, but can never make for the edification, of the body of Chriſt. And this was the ground of *Jeroboams* policy, according to that old Diabolical doctrine, *Divide & impera*, by a new invented falſe Religion to maintain a late unlawfully uſurped royalty: eaſily foreſeeing that, if all *Iſrael* had but one God, they

they would have but one King too, 1 King. 12. 26, *&c.* The principality entailed upon *David* and his poſterity, to whom the Kingdom over *Iſrael* was given by *a covenant of ſalt*, as *Abijah* ſpeaks, 2 Chr. 13. 5. and the Prieſthood, the honour whereof no man *taketh to himſelf, but he that is called of God, as was* Aaron, Heb. 5. 4. conveyed unto *Phinehas* and his ſeed after him by an *everlaſting covenant of peace*, Numb. 25. 12, 13. had ſuch a mutual correſpondence unto one another, that like the *living creatures* and the *wheels*, Ezek. 1. 15, *&c.* which kept both time and place together in their motions, they ſtood and fell, they reſted and removed alike. Which argument is ſtrongly urged by *Abijah* againſt *Jeroboam* and the men of *Iſrael*, 2 Chr. 13. 9. *&c. Have ye not caſt out the Prieſts of the Lord the ſons of* Aaron, *and the* Levites, *and have made you Prieſts after the manner of the Nations of other Lands? ſo that whoſoever cometh to conſecrate himſelf with a yong bullock and ſeven rams, the ſame may be a Prieſt of them that are no gods. But as for us,*

the

the Lord is our God, and we have not forſaken him, and the Prieſts which miniſter unto the Lord are the ſons of Aaron, *and the* Levites *wait upon their buſineſs. And they burn unto the Lord every morning, and every evening, burnt ſacrifices and ſweet incenſe: the ſhew-bread alſo ſet they in order upon the pure table, and the candleſtick of gold, with the lamps thereof to burn every evening: for we keep the charge of the Lord our God, but ye have forſaken him. And, behold, God himſelf is with us for our Captain, and his Prieſts with ſounding Trumpets, to cry alarm againſt you. O children of* Iſrael, *fight ye not againſt the Lord God of your Fathers, for ye ſhall not proſper.* And how they did, or rather how they did not, proſper in that battail, and ever after, we have ſeen already. Though their Rebellion were a weed that ſprung up ſpeedily, though it ſuddainly arrived to the height of its growth, though it took ſuch deep root that it could never yet be removed, though *Hydra*-like it had a long ſucceſſion of heads, as one was cut off another riſing up,

up, yet judgement found it out at laſt, and the longer it had been deferred the deeper impreſſion it made when it came.

SECT. XXII.

Of Zedekiah, 2 *King.* 24. 20.

THe laſt particular, which I will mention, is that of *Zedekiah*, and he is the laſt of whom the Sacred Hiſtory ſaith, *He rebelled*, 2 King. 24.20. Jer. 52. 3. And of him it is obſervable, Firſt, (as before of *Jeroboam*) that he was a beneficiary of the King of *Babylon*, againſt whom he rebelled, and was made King by him in ſtead of his elder brothers ſon to whom of right the Kingdom appertained, and who reigned in *Jeruſalem* till he was removed by *Nebuchadnezzar*, 2 King. 24. 8. yea, the King of *Babylon*, to make it appear that, as he was King, he was but his creature, exerciſed ſo much power over him, that he changed his name, ver. 17. dealing

dealing with him as *Pharaoh Necho* had formerly done with his Father, Chap. 23. 34. But ſeldom is there any more prodigious ingratitude then of thoſe that are moſt obliged to be thankful: nor can a Kingdom, if not every way abſolute, put a period to the boundleſs ambition of an aſpiring man. *Zedekiah* thinks not himſelf high enough, ſo long as *Nebuchadnezzar* is yet above him. What the aime of *Rebellion* (for the moſt part, if not always) is, plainly may be ſeen in the event. *Rebels*, if they can prevail by power, although they have no right at all, yet they will reign alone. Perhaps it may be thought that *Jehojakims* right was now devolved unto *Zedekiah*, at leaſt that during his kinſmans captivity the tutelary adminiſtration of the Kingdom appertained unto him as the next Prince of the bloud: and it may be that *Nebuchadnezzar* himſelf had an eye to that, when he made him King. But as in natural Philoſophy we ſay, *Quicquid recipitur recipitur ad modum recipientis*, although a well be full of water, yet he that comes to draw ſhall bring up no more then his bucket

bucket will hold: ſo is it as true that *cauſæ ſecundæ nihil agunt, niſi in virtute primæ.* If a fountain be ſtopt, the ſtreams that iſſue thence muſt needs be cut off, and when there is no more motion in the maſter-wheel, the reſt of neceſſity muſt quickly ſtand ſtill. Subordinate authority may not exceed the bounds of that Commiſſion which it receiveth from the Supreme, nor he that ſupplies the place of another, do more then he himſelf might do, whoſe place he ſupplies. How abſolute ſoever and ſupreme that Authority was, which the Kings of *Judah* had before, yet now they were become *ſervants to the King of Babylon*, 2 King. 24. 2. and *ſervice* is defined by obedience. Rom. *6. 16. Know ye not, that to whom ye yield your ſelves ſervants to obey, his ſervants ye are to whom ye obey? Servus eſt, qui ſui juris non eſt, ſed alieno dominio ſubjicitur.* He is a ſervant, which is not (as we ſay) his own maſter, but ſubject unto the dominion of another. To acknowledge ſubjection as ſervants, and yet notwithſtanding to challenge a ſuperiority over

others

others as Lords, or ſo much as an equality with them as their compeers, whom we confeſs our Soveraigns, muſt needs be a moſt unreaſonable inconſiſtent contradiction. What particular conditions *Nebuchadnezzar* impoſed upon *Zedekiah*, when he made him King, the text doth not tell us: but the leaſt that it can be imagined they might amount unto muſt needs be, that he ſhould not rebel againſt him: for ſo much was formerly challenged (although unjuſtly then) of *Hezekiah* by *Rabſhakeh* in the name of *Sennacharib* his maſter, 2 King. 18. 20. *On whom doſt thou truſt that thou rebelleſt againſt me?* But now God had not only given the Jews, and their neighbour Nations, into the hand of *Nebuchadnezzar* King of *Babylon* to ſerve him, Jer. 27. 6. but likewiſe expreſly commanded *Zedekiah*, and his Prieſts, and his people, by his Prophet *Jeremiah*, to bring their necks under the yoak of the King of *Babylon*, and to ſerve him and his people, ver. 12, *&c.* So that *Zedekiah* by his Rebellion brake not only that bond of *gratitude*, wherein he ſtood obliged unto *Nebuchad-*

nezzar

nezzar as his benefactor, but likewiſe that bond of *obedience*, wherein he ſtood engaged unto God himſelf, yea more the ſacred bond of an *oath*, wherewith he had bound himſelf in the preſence of God unto the King of *Babylon*, as was before obſerved. But what was the iſſue of this? Did *Zedekiah* and the Jews ſpeed better with their Rebellion, then formerly *Jeroboam* and the *Iſraelites* had done with theirs? Not much for the preſent; for they likewiſe were led captive by the King of *Aſſyria*. But as there was difference between their Rebellions in two reſpects, ſo was there between their captivities in one. The differences between their Rebellions where theſe. That of *Jeroboam* and the *Iſraelites* was an inteſtine domeſtick civill Rebellion, whereby they tore aſunder as it were their own bowels, and rent themſelves as members from the head and the reſt of the ſame body politick. This of *Zedekiah* and the *Jews* was only a Rebellion againſt a forain Authority, to which they had not been ſubject till of late, and unto which (except in point of diſcretion, when they were not

not able to defend themſelves from that power by which it was obtruded on them) they were not in any ordinary way obliged to ſubmit themſelves, but only as God by his Prophet had in an extraordinary manner revealed his will that they ſhould do ſo. That of *Jeroboam* and the *Iſraelites*, as it was begun many ages before againſt *Rehoboam* and the houſe of *David*, and thorow many ſucceſſions and changes of Kings continued ſtill, ſo was it ſeconded with a conſpiracy againſt *Shalmaneſer* King of *Aſſyria* by *Heſhea* the laſt King of *Iſrael*: which though the Scripture do not call a Rebellion, yet in as much as it ſaith, *Hoſhea became his ſervant, and gave him preſents* (or rendered him tribute) it appears to be no leſſe. This of *Zedekiah*, as it was againſt a forainer only, ſo was it not of any long ſtanding, his brother *Jehojakim* was the firſt that *become ſervant to the King of* Babylon *three years, then he returned and rebelled againſt him*, 2 King. 24. 1. and the whole time from the beginning of *Jehojakims* to the end of *Zedekiahs* reign was at the moſt but twenty two years and three

three moneths. The difference between their captivities was, that of the *Iſraelites* was a long continued, yea hitherto indeed an endleſs captivity. This of the *Jews* was but for 70 years only, and then they returned to their own land, and had both their civil Policy in ſome ſort reſtored, and the Temple, for the publick and ſolemn exerciſe of their Religion reedified, and in ſuch a magnificent manner, that the Prophet *Haggai* foretold *the glory of that latter houſe ſhould be greater then of the former*, Hag. 2. 9. and the Prophet *Zechariah*, that *the great mountain before* Zerubbabel *the Governour of* Judah *ſhould become a plain, and that he ſhould bring forth the head-ſtone thereof with ſhoutings, crying, Grace, Grace unto it*, Zech. 4. 7. Such odds there is between Gods dealing with them that Rebel againſt their own domeſtick Governours, and together with their Allegiance lay aſide their Religion, and with them that retaining the publick profeſſion of the true Religion in the ſolemn ſervice thereof, and continuing conſtant in their Loyal ſubjection to their own ordinary Governours, are led on by

their example and authority to oppoſe themſelves only againſt forainers prevailing over them by power, though God in his providence have diſpoſed it to be ſo, and given extraordinary evidence of his pleaſure to that purpoſe. Yet in both we may obſerve Rebellion breaking down the banks to let in that deluge of deſtruction, which was ready prepared to avenge the quarrel of Gods covenant againſt his own peculiar people.

SECT. XXIII.

No intent of application to particulars: but an addition of ſomething concerning two Arch-rebels, *the Devill and Antichriſt.*

THus have I endeavoured, by what I finde obſervable in holy Scripture, concerning the nature of *Rebellion*, together with the properties and practiſes of *Rebels*, to diſcover the true uſe of the Name, and to ſhew who they are

are that may be rightly called *Rebels*, by them who have learnt to ſpeak the language of the holy Ghoſt. For any particular application, eſpecially ſuch as may reflect upon the preſent Occurrences of theſe times, as I did not intend it at the firſt, ſo I will not go about it now. Though this that hath been ſaid, may miniſter juſt occaſion unto every one that ſees it, to ſay unto himſelf, as the Diſciples did unto our Saviour, when he told them, that one of them ſhould betray him, *Is it I?* and *Is it I?* Mar. 14. 19. yet few I ſuppoſe are fit to ſay to others, as *Nathan* did to *David*, *Thou art the man*, 2 Sam. 12. 7. or as our Saviour did unto *Judas*, *Thou haſt ſaid*, Mat. 26. 25. For my ſelf, I hold it far better to follow that rule of St. *Paul*, Phil. 2. 3. *Let nothing be done through ſtrife or vainglory, but in lowlineſs of minde, let each eſteem other better then themſelves:* and Gal. 6. 4, 5. *Let every man prove his own work, and then ſhall he have rejoycing in himſelf alone, and not in another*; then to intermeddle as a buſie body in other mens matters.

Yet in ſtead of application to particulars, I will be bold to add ſomething concerning two ſorts of *Arch-rebels*, which hitherto I have forborne to ſpeak of: partly becauſe I do not remember any mention made of them in Scripture under that notion, at leaſt not according to our Engliſh tranſlation: and partly becauſe the one lies without the compaſs of humane Rebellion, unto which I at firſt confined this Diſcourſe, and the other is incombered with many Controverſies, which when they will be determined ſo, as to give general ſatisfaction unto all, it is not eaſie to foreſee. I mean the *great Dragon, that old Serpent called the Devil and Satan*, Rev. 12. 9. and the *Antichriſt, that man of ſin, the ſon of perdition*, 2 Theſſ. 2. 3. whom though I mention but as two particulars in the ſingular number, yet I ſtick not to call them two ſorts of *Arch-rebels*, as comprehending many individuals under them, becauſe I obſerve the holy Ghoſt in Scripture to diſcover ſo much of them, and to ſpeak plainly, not only of one, but alſo of many both Devils and Antichriſts: as Luk. 8. 30.

Many

Many Devils were entred into him, and 1 Iohn 2. 18. *As ye have heard that Antichriſt ſhall come, even now are there many Antichriſts.* Of theſe I ſhall uow endeavour to ſhew that they may indeed be rightly called *Arch-rebels*, by taking notice of ſome remarkable paſſages in Scripture, wherein by their properties and practiſes their rebellious diſpoſitions are diſcovered.

SECT. XXIV.

Of the arch-authour of Rebellion, the Devil.

FOr the firſt, I obſerved before out of *Schindler*, that the Rabbins cal the Devil מרוד, becauſe he fell away or revolted from God. St. *Jude* cals Devils, *the Angels which kept not their firſt eſtate* (or principality) *but left their own habitation*, ver. 6. we muſt underſtand it according to that of Saint *Peter*, 2 Pet. 2. 4. *they ſinned*: and all ſin (as was ſhewed in the beginning) isin a larger ſenſe rebellion againſt God,

eſpecially, (and even in the ſtricteſt ſenſe that may be) ſuch a ſin as that of the Devils may well be conceived to have been, in reſpect of the quality thereof (although the kind be not certainly known) a ſin of obſtinate ſtubborn perverſeneſs. So that of the Prophet *Iſaiah* ſpeaking of *Egypt*, chap. 19. 14. *The Lord hath mingled a perverſe ſpirit (or a ſpirit of perverſeneſs) in the midſt thereof*, is reckoned by ſome amongſt the names of the Devil. Saint *Paul* calls him *Belial*, 2 *Cor.* 6. 15. which Saint *Hierome* renders *Apoſtata, prævaricator, & abſque jugo*, *Lib.* 8. *com. in Iſaiam*, an apoſtate, a prevaricator, and without yoak. He is an adverſary that not onely oppoſeth himſelf both againſt God and againſt man, and eſpecially againſt him that is both God and man Chriſt Jeſus, and thoſe men that are in a ſpecial manner honoured by God above others when he raiſeth them up to be inſtruments of his honour, as Zech. 3. 1. *He ſhewed me* Ioſhua *the high Prieſt ſtanding before the Angel of the Lord, and Satan ſtanding at his right hand to reſiſt him* (or to be his adverſary) but that ſets on

others

others alſo to oppoſe them. All the oppoſition that was, or is, or ever will be made againſt God by men, or by men againſt one another in any thing wherein they ought to ſubmit themſelves and yield obedience, is the fruit of his malignity. *He is the God of this world, that blindeth the minds of them that believe not*, 2 Cor. 4.4. *He is the Prince of the power of the air that worketh in the children of diſobedience*, Eph. 2. 2. He it is, that *with his Angels maketh war in heaven, and fighteth againſt* Michael *and his Angels*, Rev. 12.7. He it is, *that ſhall go out to deceive the nations which are in the four quarters of the earth*, Gog *and* Magog, *to gather them together to battel*, Rev. 20.8. It was he that beguiled our firſt Parents, and brought them to rebell againſt God by eating the forbidden fruit, *Gen.* 3.13. It was he that ſet on the men of *Shechem* to deal treacherouſly with *Abimelech*, *Judg.* 9. 23. It was he that undertook to be a lying ſpirit in the mouth of *Ahabs* Prophets, to perſwade him that he might go up and fall at *Ramoth Gilead*, 1 Kings 22.22. It was he, hat made three ſeverall attempts upon

the Son of God himſelf, *Mat.*4.1,*&c.* It was he, that entered into *Judas*, Joh.13.27. made him betray his Maſter, and ſell him to the Jews for thirty pieces of ſilver. In a word, *he that committeth ſin is of the Devil, for the Devil ſinneth from the beginning: for this purpoſe the Son of God was manifeſted, that he might deſtroy the works of the Devil,* 1 *Jonn* 3. 8. If *Rebellion* then be ſin, it is the Devils work: and if it be not ſin, (as *I* ſaid before) it is not properly called *Rebellion.* The Devil then is the *Arch-rebel* of all, as he that was both the firſt ſinner himſelf, and the firſt inſtigator of men unto ſin. But this is general, for the Rebellion of men againſt men, that is, the obſtinate oppoſition of inferiours againſt their ſuperiours, to whom they ſhould be ſubject, and ſubmit themſelves, that the Devil himſelf hath a more immediate operation upon men in that ſin, then in ſome others, is not onely evident by that which hath been already alledged out of *Rev.*12.7. and *Rev.*20.8. and by the particular inſtances of the *Shechemites* and *Judas*, but may further appear if we conſider, that the evils of the latter times fore-

foretold by St. *Paul*, 2 Tim. 3. 1, *&c.* and inſtanced in ſuch particulars eſpecially, as are the moſt proper either cauſes, ſymptoms, or prognoſticks of *Rebellion*, are by the ſame Apoſtle referred to *mens departing from the faith, and giving heed to ſeducing ſpirits and doctrines of Devils*, 1 Tim. 4. 1. *Rebellion* is ſuch an unreaſonable ſin, that if there were not a Devil to teach, there would hardly be found a man to practiſe it. And therefore it is worth our obſervation, that St. *Paul*, ſpeaking of *that man of ſin the childe of perdition*, to whom (as we ſhall ſee in the next Section) the publick profeſſion of Rebellion is in a ſpecial manner proper above others, ſaith of him, that *his coming is after the working of Satan, with all power, and ſigns, and lying wonders, and with all deceiveableneſs of unrighteouſneſs*, 2 Theſſ. 2. 9, 10. Intimating that there is a ſpecial work of *Satan* in it, when ſuch *ſtrong deluſion* is ſent unto men that they ſhould believe ſuch an *Antichriſtian lie*, tendered unto them under the colour of a Chriſtian truth, as the doctrine of *Rebellion* is.

Beſides,

Beſides, if we obſerve what evils they are that uſually precede Rebellion, as the cauſes out of which it ſprings, go along with it, as companions and aſſociates, or ſucceed it, as the effects and fruits which it bringeth forth, we may finde them ſuch as the Devil hath a ſpecial operation in.

Of the firſt ſort is *envy*, Tit. 3. 3. *We our ſelves were ſometimes fooliſh, diſobedient, deceived —— living in malice and envy.* And of *envy* St. *James* ſaith, *The ſpirit that dwelleth in us luſteth to envy*, Jam. 4. 5. What ſpirit he meaneth we may ſee by that in the 7. verſe, *Reſiſt the Devil and he will flee from you.*

Of the ſecond ſort are *lying* and *hypocriſie*, 1 Tim. 4. 1, 2. *In the later times ſome ſhall depart from the faith, giving heed to ſeducing ſpirits and doctrines of Devils, ſpeaking lies in hypocriſie.* And for *lying* our Saviour himſelf aſcribes it to the Devil as his own proper ſin, Joh. 8. 44. *When he ſpeaketh a lie, he ſpeaketh of his own: for he is a lyer, and the father of it.* For *Hypocriſie*, when Satan fals from heaven, it is as *lightning*, Luk. 10. 18. and

18. and, becauſe *Satan* himſelf is *tranſformed into an Angel of light*, therefore it is no great thing, if *his miniſters alſo be transformed as the Miniſters of righteouſneſs*, 2 Cor. 11. 14, 15. So St. *Peter* expoſtulates with *Ananias* his hypocriſie, Act. 5. 3. *Why hath Satan filled thine heart to lie unto the holy Ghoſt?*

Of the third ſort are *ruin*, *deſolation* and *deſtruction*, Prov. 17. 11. *An evil man ſeeketh only Rebellion, therefore a cruel meſſenger ſhall be ſent againſt him.* And what more cruel meſſenger is there, can there be, then *the Angel of the bottomleſs pit, whoſe name in the Hebrew tongue is* Abaddon, *but in the Greek tongue hath his name* Apollyon, that is to ſay, *a deſtroyer?* Rev. 9. 11. Or rather, what meſſenger either is or can be cruel, that is not of that evill one, who was a *murtherer from the beginning*, Joh. 8. 44. and ſtill *as a roaring Lyon walketh about, ſeeking whom he may devour?* 1 Pet. 5. 8. And what courſe of proceeding in judgement can be more juſt, then that the ſame Devil, who is the principal author of ſin, ſhould be the principal

cipal inſtrument of puniſhment alſo, unto *rebels*, and they *the ſons of perdition*, as well as *the ſons of rebellion*, with ſpecial relation unto him as their Father.

SECT. XXV.

Of the arch-inſtrument of Rebellion the Antichriſt.

BUt to deſcend from this arch-author of Rebellion the Devil, to him that is next him, although not in time, yet in eminence of activity in this kinde, the arch-inſtrument of Rebellion *Antichriſt*, the whole body of his profeſſion and practice is ſignificantly ſtyled by the Apoſtle ἀποστασία *falling away*, 2 Theſſ. 2. 3. Concerning him the Scripture indeed hath not ſaid much, and that which is ſaid of him is not by way of hiſtorical Narration, but of Prophetical prediction, and ſo much the harder to be rightly underſtood, becauſe partiality and prejudice are alwayes apt to interpoſe peculiar intereſts,

tereſts, whereby Interpreters many times are too much carryed away in the application of that *in hypotheſi*, which generally propounded as *in theſi* only might have been admitted without any great exception, or peradventure without ſo much as any queſtion made of it. I ſhall for the preſent content my ſelf with the mention of two remarkable paſſages of Scripture, which I think will be eaſily on all hands acknowledged to ſpeak of *Antichriſt*, and not only ſo, but of that great Antichriſt, to whom, above others, that name by way of excellence doth appertain.

The one ſhall be that of the Apoſtle before quoted, 2 Theſſ. 2. 3, *&c.* where, to omit all other particulars, the rebellious diſpoſition of him that is there deſcribed, hath theſe notorious marks to make it manifeſt.

Firſt, as I ſaid before, the whole body of his profeſſion and practice is ἀποστασία, *a falling away*: we muſt underſtand it as St. *Paul* doth, 1 Tim. 4. 1. *That in the latter times ſome ſhall depart from the faith, giving heed to ſeducing ſpirits and doctrines of Devils*: then

then which there can be no more eminent act of rebellion againſt God.

Secondly, he is ſtyled *ſignanter, that man of ſin*: and if (as before) all ſin be Rebellion againſt God, that man of ſin muſt in effect be as much as that man of rebellion, and rebellion not an adherent adjunct ſo much as an eſſential ingredient in his conſtitution.

Thirdly, he is called *the ſon of perdition*, a title which the holy Ghoſt in Scripture hath never given unto any other, but only unto *Judas* that betrayed his Maſter, Joh. 17. 12. And the word tranſlated *perdition* ἀπώλεια, ſeems, as it is uſed by St. *Paul*, Heb. 10. 29. in a ſpecial manner to denote a judgement peculiarly proper unto them, who are by him there termed *drawers back*, ὑποστολῆς, *ſubaudi* τέκνα, ſons of ſubduction. *Beza* on the former verſe obſerves, that the word there uſed by the Apoſtle ἐὰν ὑποστείλῃ, *if any man draw back*, is the ſame by which the Hebrew word עפלה Hab. 2. 4. is rendred in the Greek, עפלה ὑποστείληται, *elata eſt*: *ea ratione*, ſaith he, *quod illud propriè ſignificet ſeſe in arcem aliquam*

aliquam quaſi tutiorem locum recipere, aut in ea ſe tueri, quod videtur facere quiſquis, deſerto Deo, alibi ſe tutiorem fore exiſtimat: becauſe it properly ſignifieth to betake himſelf into ſome Tower as a ſafer place, or to defend himſelf in it, which he may ſeem to do, who forſaking God doth think that he can be ſafer any where elſe. *Schindler* renders it, *audax*, or *præſumtuoſa facta eſt*, is become bold or preſumptuous. It is the ſame word that is uſed, Numb. 14. 44. when *Moſes* ſaith, *they preſumed to go up unto the hill top*; for which he expreſly accuſeth them of Rebellion, Deut. 1. 43. *You would not hear, but rebelled againſt the commandement of the Lord, and went preſumptuouſly up into the hill.* So the ſon of perdition ſeems to be as much as one deſperately devoted unto that deſtruction, which is the proper puniſhment of that preſumption, whereby obedience is withdrawn from God through confidence in ſomething elſe. And that in all Rebellion there is ſome (at leaſt ſuppoſed) ground of confidence, which gives encouragement thereunto, is intimated

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in that phraſe of *Rabſhakeh* to *Hezekiah*, 2 *Kin.* 18, 19, 20. *What confidence is this wherein thou truſteſt? thou ſayſt*, (*but they are but vain words*) *I have counſel and ſtrength for the war, now on whom doſt thou truſt, that thou rebelleſt againſt me?* And I am confident, that never was nor is or will be any practice of Rebellion againſt God or man, but accompanied with an expectation (at leaſt in the beginning) of ſuch good ſucceſs at laſt, as will ſufficiently recompenſe the coſt and pains, and peril of the buſineſs, both in the onſet at the firſt, and proſecution afterward. Yea I think I may ſafely ſay it is impoſſible for any man to *walk in the imagination of his own heart*, but he which *bleſſeth himſelf in his heart, ſaying I ſhall have peace*, Deut. 29 19.

Fourthly, it is ſaid, *Who oppoſeth and exalteth himſelf above all that is called God, or that is worſhipped, ſo that he, as God, ſitteth in the Temple of God, ſhewing himſelf that he is God.* This whether it be underſtood of profeſſed open oppoſition, and exaltation by violence and force, or that which is ſecret and cloſe, by fraudulent deceit and inſinuation, under an hypocriticall

hypocriticall ſhadow of ſubjection and pretended friendſhip: and whether *by all that is called God and worſhipped* we underſtand him that alone by nature of himſelf is ſuch, who *onely hath immortality dwelling in the light, which no man can approach unto,* 1 Tim. 6. 16. Or thoſe to whom that name is imparted by reaſon of their offices onely, wherein they exerciſe ſupreme humane authority on earth. This I ſay however underſtood doth evidence in him of whom it is ſpoken, the moſt rebellious diſpoſition that may be, both breaking aſunder all bonds of ſubjection, and tranſcending all bounds of moderation: who (to uſe the expreſſion of the Prophet upon another occaſion, although not much unlike) *enlargeth his deſire as hell, and is as death, and cannot be ſatisfied, but gathereth unto him all nations, and heapeth unto him all people,* Hab. 2. 6.

The other place, which I will mention is that of *Rev.* 11. 7. where it is ſaid, that *when the two witneſſes are about to finiſh their teſtimony, the beaſt that aſcendeth out of the bottomleſs pit ſhall make war againſt*

them, and ſhall overcome them and kill them. By the beaſt that aſcendeth out of the bottomleſs pit, I ſuppoſe it will not be denyed by any, but that we muſt underſtand the *Antichriſt*, who the *two witneſſes* are will not be ſo eaſily determined. The Papiſts, ſay they, are *Henoch* and *Elias*, whom they conceive to be yet alive in the body (or in mortall fleſh) and that to this end, that when Antichriſt cometh they may oppoſe themſelves unto him, preſerve the elect in the faith of Chriſt, and at the length convert the Jews. Some, Proteſtants ſay, they are the ſacred Scriptures, and companies of believers. Some all the Miniſters of the word, which in the dayes of Antichriſt ſhall oppoſe themſelves to him, teaching and maintaining the truth of the Goſpel: and if any man would ſay, (which yet I will not that the two witneſſes are Chriſtian, Orthodox, Principality and Prelacy, not in the concrete, but in the abſtract (I mean all ſuch ſupreme governours, both Civill and Eccleſiaſticall, as in Countries at one time or other under the Juriſdiction of the great City, do with authority and power publickly

lickly profeſſe and maintain the ancient, Orthodox, Chriſtian Religion, againſt the innovations, hereſies, idolatries and tyrannies of Antichriſt, not in reſpect of their perſons ſo much, as of that authority and power which properly belongeth unto them in their places, perapventure, as much might be pleaded from the Text it ſelf, in behalf of that opinion, as of any other.

But to leave that with a *nondum conſtat* for the preſent amongſt other queſtions not reſolved on, *quarum adhuc ſub judice lis eſt*, let the two witneſſes be who they will be, if the beaſt that aſcendeth out of the bottomleſs pit be the *Antichriſt*, that which is there ſaid of them and of him will ſufficiently manifeſt his rebellious diſpoſition, ſecond to none, except it be that of the Devil himſelf. For of them it is ſaid, Firſt, *they are the witneſſes of Jeſus Chriſt, the mighty Angel that came down from haven cloathed with a cloud, and a rainbow on his head, and his face as it were the ſun, and his feet as pillars of fire*, chap. 10. 1.

Secondly, what they do as witneſſes

there called propheſying) is given unto them by him to do, ver. 3. Thirdly, they *ſtand before the God of the Earth, as two Olive trees, and two Candleſticks, ſecretly ſupplyed by him with ſuch ſpiritual fatneſs as maintains their Lamps ſtill burning to give light to others*, ver. 4. Fourthly, *Fire proceedeth out of their mouths and devoureth their Enemies: If any man will hurt them, he muſt in this manner be killed*, ver. 5. Fiftly, *They have power to ſhut Heaven, that it rain not in the days of their propheſie: and have power over waters to turn them to bloud, and to ſmite the Earth with all plagues as often as they will*, ver. 6.

Of him it is ſaid, Firſt, *He ſhall make war againſt them:* Secondly, *He ſhall overcome them*; Thirdly, *He ſhall kill them:* and all this then, when *they are about to finiſh their teſtimony*, when they have made a good progreſs in the performance of their work already, but yet have not brought it to the full perfection, ver. 7. That which is done againſt the witneſſes of Jeſus Chriſt, is eſteemed by him as done againſt himſelf, Luk. 10. 16.

Acts

Acts 9. 4. eſpecially whileſt they are doing that which is given unto them by him to do, to the doing whereof they are not only appointed and ordained, but alſo enabled and aſſiſted by him, yea, whileſt they are in preſence of God, before his face, and are armed with extraordinary power to take vengeance upon all, that are either their own or his profeſſed Enemies. Yet he that, *as God, ſitteth in the Temple of God, ſhewing himſelf that he is God*, not only *fighteth*, but *maketh war againſt them*, and that with ſuch violence, that *he overcometh them*; and not content to have conquered only, *killeth them* alſo. So that he not only oppoſeth himſelf unto them in their prophecying by his ſecret practiſes, but by his open profeſſion alſo, and that moſt preſumptuouſly before the face of God himſelf, neither daunted at his preſence with them, nor diſmayed at the appearance of his power in them; although that power extend it ſelf as high as *Heaven*, and as low as *Earth*, to the *ſhutting* of the one, that it *rain not in the dayes of their propheſie*, and to the *ſmiting* of the other

with all plagues, as often as they will. Although they can *turn the waters into bloud*, and *kill thoſe that will hurt them with the fire that proceedeth out of their mouths, and devoureth their Enemies:* yet none of theſe things move him, but in the madneſs of his rage he ruſheth on ſo furiouſly, that for the time he bears down all before him, and never thinks them enough overcome, whileſt life is left in them, but to compleat his conqueſt over them, as he imagineth, for ever killeth them. That which followeth of *their bodies not ſuffered to be put in graves*, ver. 9. I mention not, becauſe till accompliſhment lend further light to lead us unto the true underſtanding of the Propheſie, it cannot be certainly known whether that be intended as a further evidence of Antichriſtian cruelty, or as an effect of Chriſtian confidence, and courteſie towards the two witneſſes: though ſome things in the Text ſeem more appliable unto the later then unto the former acceptation. But without that there is enough in the other three particulars to convince the *Antichriſt* of Arch-rebellion

bellion againſt God and man, in that he maketh war againſt thoſe men that are witneſſes for Chriſt until he overcometh them, and having overcome, doth kill them; that is, as much as lyes in him deprive them of their very being, ſuch as was given them by Chriſt, to be not only for a time interrupting the Propheſie, and over-turning them as Candleſticks, that they may not hold out Lamps of light to others, but even deſpoyling them of all poſſibility of ever doing any thing as ſuch again, by rooting them up as Olive trees, not leaving ſo much as the ſtocks or ſtumps of them in the earth, to bud and bring forth any new ſucceſſion of boughs and branches. If *Rabſhakeh* urge it as an evidence of *rebellion* againſt *Senacherib* King of *Aſſyria* in *Hezekiah*, That *he would turn away the face of one Captain of the leaſt of his ſervants*, 2 King. 18. 24. If the Holy ghoſt take notice of it as an eminent act of *rebellion* in the *Iſraelites*, that when *Rehoboam* ſent *Adoram*, who was over the tribute, they *ſtoned him with ſtones that he dyed*, 1 King. 12. 18. 24. If God by

his Prophet interpret it *rebellion* in *Zedekiah* againſt the King of *Babylon*, that he ſent Embaſſadours into *Egypt*, that *they might give him Horſes and much people*, thinking by that means *to ſtrengthen himſelf againſt the King of* Babylon, Ezek. 17. 15. How much more muſt it be rebellion in the *Antichriſt*, not only to turn away the faces, but even to take away the lives, not of one, but of two, yea of all, not the leaſt, but the greateſt, of the ſervants of Jeſus Chriſt, and that in the preſence of God himſelf, to deprive them of that power which he hath given them, both in Heaven and in Earth, and over the moſt active Elements, and inſtruments of his anger, fire and water, not only to ſtrengthen him againſt them, but even to take away all ſtrength, yea, all exiſtence, and being ſuch as they were, from them?

All this is evident in the Text, and cannot be denyed to be true concerning the *Antichriſt*, the Beaſt that aſcendeth out of the bottomleſs pit, generally taken, as *in Theſi* only. Should I deſcend unto a particular application of it *in hypotheſi* unto

unto the See of *Rome*, the Pope and his adherents; and take notice of all that is practiſed and profeſſed by them, whileſt the *four vials* are in pouring out upon them (wherein peradventure the power of the *two witneſſes* is moſt eminently exerciſed, and unto which that *war* which *the Beaſt* doth make againſt them, wherein they are *overcome and killed* by him, doth moſt appear to ſynchroniſe) I doubt not, but I might find cauſe enough, to ſay, That ſince God created man upon the Earth, the Sun never ſaw *Rebellion* raigning with ſo high a hand at any time, or amongſt any other people: Yea, ſhould all the rebellions that ever were in the world before, be put together, this of *the Antichriſt* in one reſpect or other would ſurpaſs them all. And taking it for granted, that the *Pope* is the *Antichriſt*, and that *Rebellion*, both againſt God and man, is now a dayes practiſed by ſome that profeſs themſelves Chriſtians; I ſhould make no great ſcruple to call it, not only ſinful and devilliſh, but alſo Antichriſtian and Popiſh Rebellion, although the perſons that practiſe it, ſhould

ſhould publickly proteſt that they are, and ſolemnly vow and ſwear ten thouſand times over, that they will be alwayes utter Enemies to Antichriſt and all Popery. For, I am confident, that as the *ten horns*, which are upon *the Beaſt*, are they that in the end, when the words of God ſhall be fulfilled, ſhall *hate the Whore*, and *make her deſolate and naked, and ſhall eat her fleſh and burn her with fire*, Rev. 17. 16, 17. ſo in the mean time it hath been, is, and will be one of the principal properties of *the myſtery of iniquity*, 2 Theſſ. 2. 7. to work by contraries, and to be moſt of all builded up by thoſe hands that moſt pretend to pull it down. Out of queſtion there is ſomething more then ordinary in it, that he who makes war againſt the *two witneſſes*, and overcometh them, and killeth them, is ſtyled not only *a beaſt riſing up out of the Sea*, but *a beaſt coming up out of the earth*, Rev. 13. 1, 11. but *the beaſt that aſcendeth out of the bottomleſs pit*: it may be in reſpect of thoſe groundleſs depths of deceit, which are practiſed by him in managing that war, wherein above o-

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thers he proves unhappily ſucceſful, *vincendo certior exul*. And of all the depths of Satan I cannot imagine how there ſhould be any deeper then that out of which thoſe grand deceivings are drawn, wherewith they ſport themſelves that ſay, *Let us do evil that good may come, whoſe damnation is juſt*, Rom. 3. 8. If there be any one things above others, which *the Antichriſt* may properly challenge as peculiar to himſelf, I think it is the profeſſed practiſe of *Rebellion* of purpoſe to promote pretended Religion. For nothing can be more directly oppoſite both unto the doctrine and practiſe of Chriſt himſelf, and his Apoſtles, of Orthodox Chriſtians in the primitive times of the Church, and of all genuine Proteſtants ſince the Reformation: from which they that now adayes recede cannot chooſe but make themſelves tranſgreſſors, by building again the things which they deſtroyed, and may very fitly be ſpoken unto, as the bewitched *Galatians* are by St. *Paul*, *Are ye ſo fooliſh? Having begun in the ſpirit, are ye now made perfect by the fleſh?* Gal. 3. 3. What ſtrange

ſtrange kinde of Logick other men have learnt I cannot tell, but to me it ſeems altogether inconſiſtent with the rules of right reaſon, that any but Popiſh Antichriſtian concluſions ſhould ever be inferred upon properly Popiſh Antichriſtian premiſes. Nor can I conceive how *the beaſt that aſcendeth out of the bottomleſs pit*, ſhould ever either kill or overcome the *two witneſſes*, unleſs it be by the means of ſome men, that take upon them to propheſie, as they do, *clothed in Sackcloth*. If *the fire that proceedeth out of their mouths* devoureth their profeſſed *Enemies*, I know not how any (what ever their will be) ſhould have power to do them hurt, except it be ſome of their pretended friends. Certainly *the Beaſt that ſpake as a Dragon*, could never have deceived them that dwell upon the Earth ſo as he did, but that he had *two Horns like a Lamb*, Rev. 13.11, &c. Nor did St. *Paul* need to have been ſo jealous over the Corinthians, *leſt by any means, as the Serpent beguiled* Eve *through his ſubtilty, ſo their minds ſhould be corrupted from the ſimplicity that is in Chriſt*,

Chriſt, had not the *falſe Apoſtles* been deceitful workers, *transforming themſelves into the Apoſtles of Chriſt, as the Miniſters of righteouſneſs*, 2 Cor. 11.2,3. 14, 15. Thoſe that *troubled the* Galatians, *and would pervert the Goſpel of Chriſt*, Gal. 1. 7. were ſuch as *deſired to make a fair ſhew in the fleſh*, chap. 6. 12. Nor were the Elders of *Epheſus* warned by St. *Paul* to take heed of *the grievous Wolves* only, *that ſhould enter in among them not ſparing the flock:* but of thoſe men alſo, that ſhould *ariſe out of their own ſelves, ſpeaking perverſe things to draw away diſciples after them*, Act. 20. 29, 30. The danger many times is greateſt there, where the cauſe of ſuſpicion is leaſt of all diſcerned. *Joſeph* was not ſold unto the *Iſhmaelites* by any but by his own Brethren, nor Chriſt himſelf betrayed into the hands of the *Jews*, but by one of his own Diſciples.

Although the *Church* be ſo founded on *the rock* that the *gates of hell ſhall not prevail againſt it*, yet as St. *Hierom* in another caſe ſaith, *Intus hoſtis eſt, intus periculum*, it hath often enemies enow within,

in, both to pollute its purity, add to diſturbe its peace. But none do it greater miſchief then they, that under a pretence of mending the lights, both quite put them out, and do what they can to remove the Candleſticks themſelves out of their places: that, whilſt they take upon them but to prune ſome branches of the Olive trees, lay axes to their roots to hew them down, as if they were fit for nothing, but only to be fuel for the fire: that under a colour of kindneſs unto Chriſt, as if they had a care to keep all his rights entire to himſelf alone, do all they can to wreſt into their own, out of his witneſſes hands, that power, which he hath given unto them to exerciſe for him. If *cauſa cauſæ* be *cauſa cauſati*, and he in the Poet had any good good reaſon on his ſide, when he ſaid,

Pergama tunc vici cum vinci poſſe vooegi.

I ſee not who can be more juſtly ſuſpected of helping the Beaſt to overcome and kill *the two witneſſes*, then they, whoſe behaviour towards them is ſuch, as may juſtly give occaſion unto God for a time to puniſh the World with the want of them.

them. But who they are, that in all probability do moſt offend that way, I had rather ſhould be read in the language of a learned Commentator upon that portion of Scripture, then mine own. His words are theſe, *Quis novit, an non Eccleſia Reformata probrum Chriſto hac parte illatum, Teſtium ad tempus ſublatione, luitura ſit; quod eos pro legationis dignitate, dum fruebantur non habuiſſent? Notum eſt nimis, quid ab Eccleſiis Reformatis in hanc partem peccatum ſit: utq; dum prophetæ Chriſti, Templo Dei repurgando ſtrenuè incubuere, alii interim gazis ejus expilandis oblationibuſq; intervertendis, ſanctiſſimum opus commaculârunt; ne alimentis quidem alicubi (magno veræ Religionis dedecore) relictis, quibus miniſtri ejus honeſtè & pro ordinis ſui dignitate ſuſtentarentur; nedum ut quod ſuperabundaret, ad rei reformatæ amplificationem, belli ſacri neceſſitatis, afflictorum fratrum ſubſidium, alioſq; pios uſus ſeponerent.* And I the rather credit him therein, becauſe (as he hath well obſerved) that part of the Propheſie, concerning the ſucceſs of the *two witneſſes*, when they are about

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to finiſh their teſtimony, runs parallel unto the hiſtory of our Saviours Paſſion, Reſurrection, and Aſcenſion, in ſundry circumſtances. And amongſt other remarkable particulars antecedent to our Saviours ſuffering, that of *Judas* his covenanting with the high Prieſts for 30. pieces of ſilver to betray him unto them, Mat. 16. 14, *&c.* is not only foretold by the Prophet *Zechariah*, chap. 11. 12, *&c.* but likewiſe ſpecial notice taken of the low price that they valued him at, as that which gave occaſion to his cutting aſunder his ſtaffe called *bands*, that he might *break the brotherhood between Judah and Iſrael:* whereupon immediately follows his taking unto him *the inſtruments of a fooliſh Shepherd, and the raiſing up of an idol Shepherd in the Land.* Nor do we read that *Judas* did ever entertain any thought of betraying his Maſter, untill he had with indignation ſeen more coſt beſtowed on him, then he thought was neceſſary: as is evident in all the four Evangeliſts, eſpecially St. *John*, who tels us expreſly, chap. 12. 4, *&c.* *That it was* Judas Iſcariot Simons *ſon which ſhould betray him,*

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that ſaid, why was not this oyntment ſold for three hundred pence, and given to the poor? Not that he cared for the poor: but becauſe he was a thief, and had the bag, and bare what was put therein. A ſhrewd ſign that they are moſt apt to deal *Judas*-like with Chriſt, who think (as he did) all coſt beſtowed on him to be but waſt, except it be to paſſe thorow their own fingers, that they themſelves may have a feeling of it. And one thing more I muſt needs take notice of, that as none of the Diſciples denyed, curſed and forſwore his Maſter, but *Peter* only, who alone without his leave drew a ſword in his defence, ſo neither is it ſaid of the reſt that *they all forſook him and fled*, till after that *Peter* had raſhly attempted to defend him by force. As if the holy Ghoſt would have Chriſtians obſerve, that fighting for Chriſt without warrant from him is the next forerunner of forſaking him. And certainly, when he himſelf doth urge his *ſervants not fighting to defend him* from the *Jews* as an argument to prove that *his Kingdom is not of this world*, Joh. 18. 36. either we muſt deny the conſequence, and

ſo argue him guilty of falſhood, who profeſſeth that *he was born for this end, and for this cauſe came into the world, that he ſhould bear witneſs to the truth*, ver. 37. or elſe be forced to confeſs, that they who pretend to fight for Religion give too much occaſion to ſuſpect, that they intend not ſo much a ſpiritual kingdom unto Chriſt, as a temporal dominion unto themſelves. Which may eaſily appear to have been the main end, unto wch. the See of *Rome* the Pope and his adherents have bent their endeavours, ever ſince they tranſlated *non occidendo ſed moriendo*, into *non moriendo ſed occidendo*, and choſe rather to make others, then to be themſelves, partakers of the ſufferings of Chriſt, although it were his obedience to *death*, even *the death of the Croſſe*, *through which, as the captain of our ſalvation, he was made perfect*, Heb. 2. 10. and that not only for our ſakes, but for our example alſo, 1 Pet. 2. 21. So that *Antichriſt* never ſhewes more like himſelf, then when he ſeems forwardeſt to fight for *Chriſt*, eſpecially when he maketh war againſt them, whom God in his

his good providence hath raiſed up to be *nurſing Fathers* and *nurſing Mothers* to his Church, thoſe *higher powers*, unto which *every ſoul muſt needs be ſubject, not only for wrath, but alſo for conſcience ſake*, Rom. 13. 1, 5.

SECT. XXVI.

The Concluſion.

I Say no more; but heartily pray that, as Chriſt came once in humility to *deſtroy the works of the Devil*, wherof *Rebellion* is none of the leaſt, and will one day come again in glory *to conſume with the ſpirit of his mouth, and deſtroy with the brightneſs of his coming, that wicked the Antichriſt*, whoſe religion, ſo far as it is properly his own, is the profeſſion and practice of *Rebellion*, in *oppoſing and exalting himſelf above all that is called God, or that is worſhipped*: ſo all that take upon them to love the Lord *Jeſus Chriſt* in ſincerity may both inwardly abhor, and hate

in their hearts, and outwardly in their lives and converſations give evidence of their unfained diſlike and deteſtation of all Rebellion againſt God and man, that he may both *enlarge their hearts to run the wayes of his Commandements*, and they may readily *ſubmit themſelves to every ordinance of man for his ſake*: that if the *fiery tryal* ſhall happen unto them, and they *for conſcience toward God endure grief, ſuffering wrongfully, they may not think it ſtrange, but rejoyce, in as much as they are partakers of Chriſts ſufferings, and the Spirit of God and of Glory reſteth on them: that ſuffering according to the will of God, as Chriſtians ought to do, patiently and joyfully, they may commit the keeping of their ſouls to him in well doing, as unto a faithful Creatour.* Amen.

Anno, cujus numerus Chonogrammate iſto votivo comprehenditur.

Sit ſoli ſapienti Deo gloria, veritati victoria, pietati honos, Eccleſiæ pax, reipublicæ proſperitas, regno ſtabilitas, regi clara ac plena fœlicitas.

A Poſtſcript,

Briefly pointing out that uſe, which may be made of the foregoing Treatiſe, by way of Inference and Application.

In Eight Sections.

SECT. I.

The occaſion of the Authors writing this Poſtſcript, and his purpoſe in it.

HAving in the precedent Treatiſe, about ſixteen years ago, taken notice of what I found obſervable in holy Scripture, concerning the nature of *Rebellion*, together with the properties and practiſes of *Rebels*, and now *(March* 11. 1660.*)* conſidering how many, and how great Revolutions have

been ſeen to all the world, in the publick affairs of theſe Nations, ſince that time; I think I have juſt cauſe and occaſion, not only, with humble reverence and admiration, to adore the infinite wiſdom and goodneſs of God, whoſe Providence diſpoſed, *That thoſe things ſhould be written ſo long afore-hand for our learning,* as St. *Paul* ſpeaketh, Rom. 15. 4. *And to be our examples, upon whom the ends of the world are come, that we ſhould not luſt after evil things,* as it is, 1 Cor. 10. 6, 11. But likewiſe with horror and amazement to lament and bewail the careleſs neglect at leaſt, if not wilful contempt thereof by ſome, who profeſs themſelves Chriſtians, and pretend to a more then ordinary meaſure of Sanctity and Sincerity. *For had not the Prince of the power of the air, the Spirit that worketh in the children of diſobedience,* Eph. 2. 2. *The God of this world blinded the minds of them which believe not, leſt the light of the glorious Goſpel of Chriſt, who is the Image of God, ſhould ſhine unto them,* 2 Cor. 4. 4. *Had they not become vain in their imaginations, had not their*

fooliſh

fooliſh hearts been darkned, Rom. 1. 21. thoſe men, who now adayes are called Phanaticks, whether old or new, might eaſily have ſeen their own diſpoſitions deſcribed, and have heard their own dooms decreed, in thoſe things, which are recorded by the holy Ghoſt in Scripture, concerning Rebels and Rebellion, from the firſt beginning of the world until the laſt conſummation thereof. Rebels are, and will be, Rebels ſtill, as well at long running, as at firſt ſetting out. Nor ſay I this with reſpect unto thoſe amongſt our ſelves alone, but likewiſe with relation unto others every where elſe. Rebellion is Rebellion in every corner of the world, as well as in *Chriſtendom*, and Rebels are Rebels, as well in *Germany*, *Spain*, and *Italy*, as in *England*, *Scotland*, *France* and *Ireland*. But every man is, or ought to be, beſt acquainted with himſelf, and with his own particular Practiſes, Opinions and Principles; and therefore without condemning or accuſing any, eſpecially ſuch as have been judged already, and are gone to their own places, I will only deſire every man, that hath

read the fore-going Treatiſe, to conſider ſeriouſly, what uſe he may make thereof, by way of Inference and Application: which is, That what the holy Ghoſt in Scripture hath expreſſed, concerning *Rebels* and *Rebellion*; may be a Touch-ſtone for all men to try themſelves by, whether indeed they be Rebels or no: and conſequently a ground of juſt reproof and terror unto ſome, of comfort and encouragement to others, of ſerious Admonition and Exhortation unto all.

SECT. II.

That which is recorded in Scripture concerning Rebels *and* Rebellion, *a* Touch-ſtone *for all men to try themſelves by, whether indeed they be* Rebels *or no.*

FOr the firſt, if *Rebellion* in Scripture doth generally ſignifie any oppoſition of an inferiour unto his Superiour, contrary unto that duty of ſubjection, wherein he ſtandeth obliged unto him, more particularly that, which is accompanyed

panyed with obſtinate, perverſe, and ſtubborn contumacy, or contempt; eſpecially that, which is openly avowed, and purpoſely maintained by violence and force of Arms, as is evidenced in the ſecond and third Sections of the foregoing Treatiſe; then all they that know themſelves guilty of ſuch oppoſition, muſt needs confeſs that they are Rebels; unleſs they will pretend they may correct Gods Word, and charge the holy Ghoſt himſelf, by whoſe Inſpiration the Scriptures were written, with ſhortneſs of diſcourſe: which in effect would be no leſs then blaſphemy: But, if they be ſure they are not guilty of ſuch oppoſition; they may be as ſure, that they are not lyable to that appellation. As a Superiour, in relation unto his Inferiour, cannot upon any account be a Rebel: ſo an Inferiour, in relation unto his Superiour, muſt needs be a Rebel; if he wilfully, and contemptuouſly oppoſe himſelf, by violent reſiſtance, or obſtinate, perverſe, and ſtubborn diſobedience. And that not only when he doth it alone by himſelf, but likewiſe when he doth

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it together with others, be they never ſo many: yea, though he be not an author or ring-leader therein, but only an aſſociate unto, a partaker with, or a follower of others: as is ſhewed, *Section* 4. Nor is he a Rebel only, that being an inferiour, doth purpoſely and deliberately intend and reſolve to caſt off all ſubjection generally unto his Superiour, and that he may ſtill continue and perſiſt in his obſtinate courſe of diſobedience, doth labour by multitude and power to withſtand and over-top authority, by violence and force of arms, to maintain and uphold himſelf in his diſobedience, and ſet himſelf free from that ſubjection, which he oweth, and is due to his Superiour: but even he, that doth it in any one particular, and but ſuddenly, or occaſionally only, ſo long as that diſobedience is continued and perſiſted in: as is ſhewed in the 5. Section. Yea, he is a Rebel, according to the language of the holy Ghoſt in Scripture, who doth ſo oppoſe himſelf, not only to his publick, whether Political or Eccleſiaſtical, but likewiſe to his Oeconomical Superiour, whether paternal

or

or deſpotical: for in all theſe reſpects may one man be inferior unto another, as his Superiour, and by obſtinate diſobedience become guilty of Rebellion againſt him: as is ſhewed in the 17. and 19. Sections. Nay more, in relation unto God, who is Superiour unto all men, and all men inferiours unto him, in a larger, though not in a ſtricter ſenſe, every man as being a ſinner againſt him, is a Rebel alſo: as is ſhewed in the 3. Section. Yea, and he, that is a Rebel againſt God in a ſtricter ſenſe, may be a Rebel againſt man alſo, when being an inferiour he obſtinately diſobeyeth his Superiour, requiring obedience unto the Commandements of God: and he, that is a Rebel againſt man immediately, may be a Rebel mediately againſt God alſo; becauſe God doth always require of inferiours obedience unto the precepts and prohibitions of their Superiours in all things, that are not either expreſly, or by neceſſary conſequence, forbidden or commanded by himſelf: as is ſhewed in the 6. Section.

SECT.

Sect. 3.

Rebellion a very hainous and pernicious crime.

For the ſecond, If Rebellion be an hainous and pernicious evil, both odious in it ſelf, diſgracefull and dangerous unto them that practiſe it, eſpecially then when it, is as it may be, aggravated by ſeverall important circumſtances, as is ſhewed in the 9, 10, 11. 17. Sections, and in other places: how can it chooſe but fill the faces with ſhame, and ſtrike terrour to the hearts of all thoſe men, whoſe own conſciences witneſs againſt them that they are guilty of that crime? eſpecially if they be ſuch, as profeſſe themſelves Chriſtians, and pretend they have been taught as the truth is in Jeſus; becauſe by being Rebels they deny that in their works particularly, which by their words they generally profeſs, and by building again the things which they deſtroyed, make themſelves tranſgreſſours, as Saint *Paul* ſpeaketh

eth, *Gal.* 2. 18. All the woes and curſes, all the Judgements of God denounced in his word againſt impenitent ſinners in general, as well as againſt Rebels in particular, belong unto them whilſt they are ſuch. No man I ſuppoſe will be ſo unreaſonable, as to deny or doubt of the certainty of this truth, and therefore whoſoever hath dealt ſincerely with himſelf in the former particular, when he hath cauſe, to confeſs a Rebell, will not refuſe, or rather cannot forbear to deal ſeverely with himſelf alſo, and ſay with the Prophet *Jeremiah*, Lam. 1.20. *My bowels are troubled, mine heart is turned within me, for I have grievouſly rebelled.* If the practice of Rebellion, eſpecially under a pretence of promoting by ſuch means true Chriſtian Religion in the purity and power of it, be not Popiſh and Antichriſtian onely, but even Helliſh and Diabolical alſo, as is ſhewed in the 24. and 25 Sections, even impudence me thinks ſhould bluſh and preſumption tremble, to ſee thoſe men that call themſelves Saints, and would be reputed of the godly party, liſted in the black Regiment of the Beaſt that aſcendeth out of the bottomleſs

tomleſs pit, and labouring with all their might aud main, with the hazard of their bodies and their ſouls too, not onely to make war againſt and overcome, but even to kill the witneſſes of Jeſus, and if poſſibly they could to interrupt their reſurrection unto life again, and hinder their aſcenſion into heaven. But as Saint *Paul* hath foretold, *Evil men and ſeducers ſhall wax worſe and worſe, deceiving and being deceived: Ever learning and never coming to the knowledge of the truth. Now as* Jannes *and* Jambres *withſtood* Moſes, *ſo do theſe alſo withſtand the truth. Men of corrupt minds reprobate concerning the faith.* But they ſhall proceed no further; for their folly ſhall be manifeſt to all men, as theirs alſo was, 2 *Tim.* 3. 7, 8, 9. 13. *When they ſhall ſay peace and ſafety, then ſudden deſtruction cometh upon them unawares, as travail upon a woman with child, and they ſhall not eſcape,* as the ſame Apoſtle ſpeaketh, 1 *Theſ.* 5.3. *For he that being often reproved hardeneth his neck, ſhall ſuddenly be deſtroyed, and that without remedy,* Prov. 29 1.

Sect.

SECT. IV.

To be preſerved or recovered from the crime of Rebellion *a very great bleſſing.*

FOr the third, If it be, as certainly it is, a great bleſſing, to be preſerved from the guilt and power and puniſhment of any ſin, either by reſtraining, or eſpecially by renewing grace; and when men have been overtaken, and have fallen, to be reſtored by repentance; then of neceſſity it muſt by ſo in the caſe of ſuch an hainous and pernicious crime as Rebellion is: they who through the preventing and aſſiſting grace of God, have kept themſelves, being kept by him innocent from that great tranſgreſſion, have great cauſe to magnifie the goodneſs of God unto them, and to rejoyce in hope, that he who hath begun that good work in them, will graciouſly proceed to continue it ſtill and perfect it unto the end, that by patient continuance in wel-doing, ſeeking for glory

glory, and honour, and immortality they may receive the end of their faith, the ſalvation of their ſouls, eternal life, and that Crown of righteouſneſs, which is laid up for them, that love and look for his appearing, *who humbled himſelf and became obedient to the death, even the death of the croſs, and therein gave himſelf an enſample for us, that we ſhould follow his ſteps.* And to thoſe who formerly have been guilty of Rebellion, but now have known the plague of their own hearts, and have accepted the puniſhment of their iniquity, who by true and unfeigned repentance have made their peace with God, and are fully reſolved for the future never to be ſo overtaken again, there is greater cauſe of comfort and encouragement, than myriads of earthly contentments can afford. Both God and all good men will highly applaud them all, and there ſhall be joy in heaven over every one of them, *even more then over ninety and nine juſt perſons which need no repentance:* as our Saviour himſelf ſaith, *Luk.* 15. 7. Such prodigal ſons when they come to themſelves indeed, and return home to their heavenly Father, are welcomed

welcomed by him with more then ordinary entertainment; and if any ſelf-conceited brethren will unkindly upbraid them with their former follies, he himſelf will anſwer for them, and be their advocate to plead their cauſe unto their beſt advantage, as is moſt emphatically evidenced in the Parable, *Luke* 15. 11. *&c.*

SECT V.

A ſerious Exhortation unfeignedly to to repent of, and carefuly to watch againſt, the crime of Rebellion.

FOr the fourth; If it be a neceſſary duty, as certainly it is for every man in particular eſpecially if he profeſſe himſelf a Chriſtian, unfeignedly to repent of all his ſins paſt, and carefully to watch againſt all future falls, then of neceſſity it muſt be ſo in the caſe of Rebellion, which is not onely a ſin in it ſelf, but uſually accompanied with other ſins: or rather indeed a general Magazine of all miſchiefs there being hardly any other evil to be

found, which it will not proceed from, or produce, as is ſhewed in the 14, 15, and 16 Sections of the foregoing Treatiſe. They then that know themſelves to be Rebels indeed, as they tender the glory of God, the credit of Religion, the welfare of the places where, and perſons amongſt whom they live, their own ſpiritual comfort, and temporall proſperity for the preſent, yea the future eternal ſalvation of their own ſouls, muſt give all diligence, both ſpeedily and thorowly by true and unfeigned repentance, and a real Reformation to return unto God, and recover that eſtate from whence they are fallen: that ſince they have not had *primas partes Innocentiæ*, by avoiding the guilt of Rebellion, yet at leaſt they may have *ſecundas partes Pœnitentiæ*, by endeavouring that ſo great a ſin may not continue ſtill to have dominion over them, but that they may be delivered out of that ſnare of the Devil, wherewith they have been led captive by him at his will, as Saint *Paul* ſpeaketh, 2 *Tim.* 2.26. that, as he exhorteth concerning wrath or ſinfull anger, *Eph.* 4. 26, 27. (which, Rebellion, I think, is ſeldom

or

or never without, if they would not give place unto the Devil, to ſet up his throne in them, they ſuffer not the ſun to go down upon their ſin. Out of queſtion he that lieth down to ſleep with Rebellion in his ſoul unrepented of, is ſure to have the Devil for his bedfellow at leaſt. And for the reſt, all they that have been either defended or delivered from that fearfull eſtate, are mainly concerned, as much as the preſent ſafety and eternal ſalvation of their precious ſouls comes to, *to take heed that they ſtand faſt, that they be ſtrong in the Lord, and in the power of his might, taking unto them the whole armour of God, that they may be able to ſtand againſt the wiles of the Devil, and to quench all the fiery darts of the wicked:* as Saint *Paul* exhorteth, *Epheſ. 6*, 10, *&c.* And to this purpoſe, for brevity ſake, I will onely commend to their conſiderations this one caution, that, as ever they deſire intend and expect to eſcape, being guilty of Rebellious practices, they withdraw themſelves from the ſociety of Rebellious perſons, and take heed they give no entertainment unto any Rebellious opinions,

or principles, whatſoever extraction they be of, whether Popiſh, Presbyterian, or Popular: if it be not more proper to refer them all unto one original, the Myſtery of Iniquity, as their common Mother: For I make account, that Popery, Presbytery, and Popularity, rightly underſtood with reſpect to their rebellious opinions and principles, are but as ſo many ſeveral Dialects in the language of that Beaſt, which *had two horns like a Lamb, and ſpake as a Dragon*, Revel. 13. 11.

SECT. VI.

Religion *and* Liberty *of* Conſcience, *unjuſtly pleaded to juſtifie, or to excuſe*, Rebellion.

BUt peradventure ſome men will think it improbable at leaſt, if not impoſſible, that they who pretend unto others, and it may be perſwade themſelves, that they do nothing but out of pure zeal for Religion,

Religion, and that they may preſerve their Liberty of Conſcience, which they are perſwaded they ought to contend for, with all earneſtneſs, and to their utmoſt perils, ſhould be guilty of Rebellion, and juſtly to be tearmed Rebels. To this I anſwer: Firſt, It is true, that to ſay a Religious Rebel is *contradictio in adjecto*: that true Religion and Rebellion are inconſiſtent contraries: But it is as true, That every Imagination of the Mind is not Religion, nor every Zelot truly Religious: witneſs the *Phariſees* among the *Jews*, of whom our Saviour ſo often complaineth; and the *falſe Apoſtles*, with whom St. *Paul* had ſo much ado: who though they were indeed the *Miniſters of Satan*, and *deceitful workers*, were yet transformed as the Miniſters of righteouſneſs; yea, *transformed themſelves into the Apoſtles of Chriſt*, 2 Cor. 11. 13, 14, 15. If diſſimulation and hypocriſie be any ordinary property of Rebels, as is ſhewed Section 15. then Rebels may be Rebels indeed, notwithſtanding their pretended zeal for Religion: and, grant them as religious in other things as them-

ſelves can deſire, yet in the practice of Rebellion they muſt needs be irreligious. Secondly, it is true, That Liberty of Conſcience is a precious thing, dearly purchaſed by Chriſt, and graciouſly beſtowed upon them that are his: and therefore, as to be highly valued, ſo carefully to be kept and preſerved by them. *Stand faſt*, ſaith St. *Paul, in the Liberty wherewith Chriſt hath made you free, and be not intangled again with the yoke of bondage*, Gal. 5. 1. But it is ſpiritual liberty of conſcience, not carnal licenciouſneſs of converſation, which Chriſt hath purchaſed for Chriſtians. And therefore the Apoſtle in the 13. verſe of that chapter, having ſaid, *Brethren, ye have been called unto liberty*, addeth withall, *only uſe not liberty for an occaſion of the fleſh, but by love ſerve one another. As free*, ſaith St. *Peter*, *and not uſing* (or, *not having*) *your liberty for a cloak of maliciouſneſs, but as the ſervants of God*, 1 Pet. 2. 16. And it is obſervable, that he inſerteth that caveat in the midſt of his ſerious exhortations unto ſubjects and ſervants to obey their Magiſtrates and Maſters,

Maſters, and after the example of Chriſt, to ſubmit themſelves unto them, not only in doing good willingly, when it is commanded by them, but likewiſe in ſuffering wrong patiently, even then when it is unjuſtly done by them. As if he intended of purpoſe to prevent this very objection, and to teach Chriſtians, that civil ſubjection is no way inconſiſtent with ſpiritual liberty, but ſubſervient unto it. That Liberty of Conſcience was ever denyed by, or unto, any Chriſtian, is more than I know: but I am ſure, that none can ever be deprived of it. Nor is it probable, that they, who plead Liberty of Conſcience, to juſtifie, or to excuſe, their own rebellion, in an obſtinate diſobedience unto that Authority which is over them, do themſelves believe, that there is any juſtice in that plea; ſince they themſelves are notoriouſly known to be moſt rigorous exactors of conformity to their own Orders and Ordinances, from them over whom they have power, whether they have authority, or no.

SECT. VII.

What Rebels *may be truly tearmed* Phanaticks.

BUt ſome men perhaps are not troubled ſo much, that they ſhould be thought Rebels, which it may be they know, though they will not acknowledge, to be but juſt, as that they ſhould be tearmed *Phanaticks:* the reaſon whereof, if they do not truly underſtand, they will be apt to ſuſpect, that more is intended by it, then is indeed, or ought to be. Therefore concerning that term, I will ſay, that though it be not new, for we may read it written about 60 years ago by the very learned and judicious King *James*, in his Βασ. Δωρ *pag.* 42. yea 1600. years ago, by *Horace*, in his Book *De Arte Poetica*, yet I believe it was never ſo much uſed, as it hath been of late, within theſe two years; and peradventure not alwayes, nor by all men, in the ſame ſenſe. Though it ſeemeth to

to be borrowed from the *Greek* φάπω, or φάινομαι, which properly ſignifie to ſhew, and to appear; yet the deduction I ſuppoſe is not ſo regular, as that any thing concerning the ſignification may be certainly inferred from thence. But, with willing ſubmiſſion unto better judgements, I conceive it may be fitly enough applyed unto them, whoſe Sanctity is more in ſhew, then in ſubſtance; *Who have a form of godlineſs, but deny the power of it*, as St. *Paul* ſpeaketh, 2 Tim. 3. or as Tit. 1. 16. *Who profeſs that they know God, but in works they deny him, being abominable, diſobedient, and unto every good work reprobate:* or, as it is in the margin of our Bibles, *void of judgement*. Such hypocrites, as the Scribes and Phariſees were, to whom our Saviour ſaith, *Ye outwardly appear righteous unto men, but within ye are full of hypocriſie and iniquity*, Matth. 23. 28. Or unto them, who pretend the appearance of ſuch truths unto themſelves, either in Scripture, or without it, as none beſides themſelves can ſee to be ſuch; and for which they can give no better reaſon,

then

then the perſwaſion of their own private ſpirits, that it is ſo; and think it a ſufficient warrant for their own moſt exorbitant actions, and enormous practiſes, that they walk but according as they are guided by the new light that appeareth in them. So that in lighter matters, and of leſs conſequence, *Phanatiques* and *Phantaſtiques*, in weightier matters, and of greater moment, *Phanatiques* and *Phrantiques*, or *Phrenetiques*; may ſeem to be terms that are ſomewhat allyed. But in neither of theſe ſenſes are *Rebels* and *Phanatiques* convertible terms. For, as there may be *Rebels*, which do not go about to diſſemble their rebellion, by pretending obedience, and profeſſing dutiful ſubjection, but openly own their Rebellion, and avouch themſelves Rebels, by denying that they owe any ſubjection at all, when indeed they do; and then ſuch *Rebels* cannot in that former ſenſe be truly termed *Phanatiques*: So, on the other ſide, there may be ſome men, that are hypocrites in other matters, and ſo in that former ſenſe may be termed *Phanatiques*, which yet are not *Rebels* in other

other reſpects, but only as by their hypocriſie they ſin againſt God, and ſo are *Rebels* in a larger ſenſe only. Again, as there may be *Rebels* who do not pretend themſelves, nor are drawn into, or guided in their rebellious practiſes, by any ſuch pretended light, either in or out of Scripture, appearing to themſelves alone; and then though they be *Rebels*, yet they are not *Phanaticks* in that later ſenſe: So, on the other ſide, there may be ſuch, as pretend New-light appearing to themſelves alone, either in or out of Scripture, in other matters, not relating at all unto Rebellion; and ſo in that later ſenſe they may be *Phanatiques*, although not *Rebels*. But, when men hypocritically diſſemble, and profeſs they are dutiful obedient ſubjects, though all the world may plainly ſee, in the courſe of their actions, that they purpoſely intend and practiſe obſtinate diſobedience and rebellion; ſuch men I make account may be truly termed both *Rebels* and *Phanatiques*, in the former ſenſe. And when men that apparently practiſe *rebellion*, urge for their juſtification, or excuſe, ſuch pretended truths, either

in

in or out of Scripture, as none beſieds themſelves can ſee to be ſuch, I conceive ſuch men to be truly termed both *Rebels* and *Phanatiques*, in the latter ſenſe; and that of whatever perſwaſion they are, whether *Popiſh*, *Presbyterian*, or *Popular*. Some of whoſe Principles, Opinions, and Practiſes, if truly underſtood and ſeriouſly conſidered, I believe would be found, not only inconſiſtent with *wholeſome words*, even the words of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, and the *doctrine, which is according to godlineſs*, as S. *Paul* ſpeaketh, 1 Tim. 6.3. but likewiſe deſtructive of all good Government. Some men peradventure may hope as they would have: but I, for my part, expect no good at all to *England*, from any either *Popiſh conclaves*, *Presbyterian conſiſtories*, or *Popular conventicles*, but only, under God and the King, from Parliaments and Convocations, legally called, conſtituted, continued, and concluded, as they ought to be.

SECT.

SECT. VIII.

The Concluſion.

BUT I perceive I have already gone beyond the bounds of that proportion, unto which I did purpoſe at the firſt to confine this Poſtſcript: therefore I will adde no more but this, having been as is generally known to thoſe amongſt whom I live, a conſtant ſufferer for my loyalty and conformity in all the late troubleſom times, from the firſt beginning of the war in the year 1642. ſo long as any uſurpers of pretedded authority were in power, That Reſolution which hath born me up, and kept me from ſinking under my burthen, was bottomed upon or buoyed up by two Syllogiſms, in the Premiſes whereof I ſaw ſuch apparent evidence of truth, that I could not but firmly adhere to the Concluſion, and order my courſe accordingly, unleſs I would renounce the government of reaſon, and reſolve to be blind with mine eyes open.

The

The one was this:

No man, that is next under God a Supreme Magiſtrate within his own Dominions, can be obſtinately diſobeyed, violently reſiſted, publickly reproached, forcibly conſtrained, or imperiouſly required, to do any thing contrary to his own mind, by any of his Subjects, without ſin.

But every King of *England* is next under God a Supreme Magiſtrate within his own Dominions.

Therefore, no King of *England* can be obſtinately diſobeyed, violently reſiſted, publickly reproached, forcibly conſtrained, or imperiouſly required, to do any thing contrary to his own minde, by any of his Subjects, without ſin.

The other was this:

Now to call in queſtion, and condemn as unlawful, that Government which was ſetled in ſome Churches, whilſt ſome of the Apoſtles themſelves were living, and generally received in all Churches, before the Divine

authority

authority of ſome of the books in the Sacred Canon of Scriptnre it ſelf was ſo received, is either Hereticall, or Schiſmatical.

But now to call in queſtion, and condemn as unlawful, the Government of Biſhops, as ſuperiours to other Presbyters, is to call in queſtion, and condemn as unlawful that Government which was ſetled in ſome Churches, whilſt ſome of the Apoſtles themſelves were living, and generally received in all Churches, before the Divine authority of ſome of the books in the Sacred Canon of Scripture it ſelf was ſo received.

Therefore, now to call in queſtion, and condemn as unlawful, the Government of Biſhops, as ſuperiours to other Presbyters, is either Heretical or Schiſmatical.

Theſe two Syllogiſms I had once a purpoſe to improve into two Treatiſes, under theſe two titles, *Logick for Loyalty*, and *A motion for Moderation*. But finding my ſelf, partly through age, but more through

through other infirmities, diſabled ſo, that I cannot, with ſafety and comfort of my health and life, take pains as I have done formerly, I am conſtrained to lay aſide thoſe thoughts. And now, as if I were to make my laſt Will and Teſtament, I bequeath thoſe two Syllogiſms, to every Loyal Subject of the Crown, and obedient Son of the Church of *England*; who is, as I reſolve to be, and pray that I may be able alwayes to approve my ſelf,

A faithful ſervant unto Unity and Peace, ſo far as it may ſtand with Truth and Holineſs.

THE END.

Imprimatur.

Geor. Stradling S. T. P. Reverendo in Chriſto Patri Gilberto Epiſc. Lond. a ſacris Domeſt.

Ex. Æd. Sabaud.
14. *Jun.* 1662.

Self-contradiction cenſured,

OR

A Caveat againſt inconſtancy, and the inconſiſtent contrariety of the ſame mens pretences, principles, opinions and practices,

Dialogue-wiſe digeſted into a deliberative diſcourſe between

Affection and *Judgement*;

AND

Intended to ſerve as ſpiritual Phyſick for two great diſeaſes of Phanatick ſpirits,

HYPOCRITICAL DECEITFULNESS,

AND

ENTHUSIASTICAL DELUSION.

By *Chriſtopher Harvey* Vicar of *Clifton* upon *Dunſmore* in the County of *Warwick*.

GAL. II. 18.

If I build again the things which I deſtroyed, I make my ſelf a tranſgreſſor.

LONDON, Printed by *R. Norton* 1662.

To the right reverend Father in God,

GILBERT Lord *BISHOP*

of LONDON,

And Preſident of the CONVOCATION

IN THE

Province of *Canterbury.*

My Lord,

THis *diſcourſe I penned in the year* 1642. *under the borrowed name of* Irenæus Philalethes. *Since when, ſome written copies of it have privately paſſed thorow many hands, not without approbation from ſome, both loyal Subjects of the Crown, and obedient ſons of the Church of* En-

gland: *unto whom, for their eminent worth, I have great reaſon to to bear much reſpect. That now, being altogether a ſtranger, I take upon me the boldneſs, in mine own name, and publickly, to preſent it with my humble ſervice to your Lordſhip, is becauſe I am confidently perſwaded, that you are a very zealous, & will be a conſtant Aſſertour of that religious Loyalty, which is pleaded for in this diſcourſe Concerning which, although I muſt confeſs, that there is no ſuch appearance of learning, art or wit in it, as may be ſufficient to render it conſiderable unto curious heads, yet I hope there is ſome ſuch evidence of truth and ſincerity, with peaceable humility & moderation, as may ſerve to ſhew it not unfit for entertainment amongſt honeſt*

honeſt hearts. Howſoever I am preſwaded, that there is nothing in it, which will be offenſive unto any, except they be ſuch, as think themſelves wiſer then the holy Scriptures can make them, or purpoſe to promote their own particular and private ends, although it be to the general and publick prejudice of Chriſtianity: Whom I never did either deſire to pleaſe by complying with them, or fear to offend by diſſenting from them: but in all the long time of my almoſt perpetual ſufferings, in one kind or other, have ſtill lived in a confident and patient expectation of that, which now with joy and gladneſs I behold, the happy Reſurrection in our land of Chriſtian Orthodox Principality and Prelacy, or Monarchy and Hie-

rarchy in abſtracto: *which I have ever eſteemed to be the moſt lively repreſentations of the two witneſſes,* Rev. 11. *and moſt exactly comparable unto them, if not rather purpoſely intended by them (as I have intimated in the* 25. *Section of the right Rebel) and that all their adherents were in a far more comfortable condition, when moſt abaſed in their own wants, then any of their enemies could be, when they moſt abounded with the ſpoils of other men. Bleſſed be the God of peace, that of his abundant mercy hath once again ſpoken peace unto his people, and reſtored comfort unto them and their mourners: He of his infinite goodneſs give them grace, not as pretended onely, but as real Saints indeed, to continue in his*

goodneſs,

goodneſs, and never to turn again unto any of their former follies. That your Lordſhip may live long on earth to enjoy the comforts, and ta laſt in heaven receive the reward of all that you have done, and ſhall do worthily, for the glory of God, and the good of his Church, is, and ſhall be the prayer of,

Your Lordſhips very humble

and obſequious ſervant,

Chriſtopher Harvey.

The Author to the Readers.

Chriſtians Readers,

I Mean you which make account, that under God one day, your own conſciences, either muſt be your moſt cordial comforters, or will be your moſt bitter adverſaries, I earneſtly intreat you, by all that is, or can be dear unto you, to credit me in this, that this diſcourſe is not offered to the view of others, with any intent of purpoſe to raiſe ſcruples in the minds of any, who exerciſe themſelves to have alwayes a conſcience void of offence toward God and toward men; but to put ſome men in minde of their

their own unadviſed raſhneſs, who uſe to take up both pretences, principles, opinions and practices on truſt from others, and (being carried with the current of example) to follow on in the tract they ſee traced before them, although for ought they know, it may be but a by-way, *non quà eundum, ſed quà itur.* Whereof God himſelf did long ago give warning, when he ſaid, *Thou ſhalt not follow a multitude to do evil*, Exod. 23. 2. and Be *no more children toſſed to and fro, and carried about with every wind of doctrine, by the ſlight of men, and cunning craftineſs, whereby they lie in wait to deceive; But ſpeaking the truth in love, grow up into him in all things, which is the head, even*

Chriſt,

Christ, Eph. 4. 14, 15. Dayly experience tells us what a ſtrong compulſive power example hath, and he knew well enough that ſaid *Vivitur exemplo*. When St. *Peter* at *Antioch withdrew, and ſeparated himſelf from the Gentiles, fearing them which were of the circumciſion, the other Jews diſſembled with him, inſomuch that Barnabas alſo was caried away with their diſſimulation* Whereupon St. *Paul* complained, that he compelled the *Gentiles to live as did the Jews*, *Gal.* 2. 12, 13, 14 And whether the publick diſtractions of our times, not only in matters of Religion, and Church government, but likewiſe of the State and Commonwealth, may not be juſtly imputed unto the weakneſs of

thoſe

thoſe mens reſolutions, who (ſuffering themſelves to be carried away with the wind and tide of popular applauſe, or a prevailing faction) have ſought to pleaſe others, by complying with them in their opinions and practices, rather then unto any weight of argument, & ſtrength of reaſon, whereby their judgements might be ſwaid, and drawn that way, I leave it to be reſolved by them, who ſeriouſly conſider what St. *Pauls* cenſure is of them that troubled the Galatians about circumciſion, *Gal.* 6. 12, 13. *As many as deſire to make a fair ſhew in the fleſh conſtrain you to be circumciſed, onely leſt they ſhould ſuffer perſecution for the croſs of Chriſt. For neither they themſelves, who*

are

are circumciſed keep the law, but deſire to have you circumciſed, that they may glory in your fleſh. As though their intent and aim were not to ſtand faſt in one ſpirit, with one mind, ſtriving together for the faith of the Goſpel: but having mens perſons in admiration, becauſe of advantage, to make a party, and maintain a ſide, oppreſſing others with an heavy load of prejudice, and bolſtering up their own with a potent prop of partiality. And they prevailed ſo far that way, that though *St. Paul* withſtood *St. Peter* to his face, and gave no place by ſubjection to the falſe brethren, no not for an hour, that the truth of the Goſpel might continue with the Gala-

tians,

tians, yet he was afraid of them, leſt he had beſtowed labour upon them in vain: and is forced to break out into that terrible Apoſtolical imprecation, *I would they were even cut off that trouble you.* Which imprecation although I dare not imitate him in, with relation to any particular perſons, yet, with an indefinite generality of comprehenſion only, I hope I may be bold to ſay, as he doth, *He that troubleth you ſhall bear his judgement, whoſoever he be.* Such troubles *St. Paul* not onely met with in the Churches where he had to do, as appeareth almoſt in all his Epiſtles, but likewiſe hath fortold unto others, which to the end that all might be freer from the danger of, he not only gives ordi-

ordinary Chriſtians warning to beware of them, but eſpecially layes a weighty charge upon them that are watchmen over others, upon that occaſion, to take heed unto themſelves, and to all the flock, over which the holy Ghoſt hath made them Overſeers. And to that purpoſe he ſets divers marks upon them whom he would have to be avoided: as, *Acts* 20. 29, 30. *Grievous wolves, not ſparing the flock, ſpeaking perverſe things to draw away diſciples after them.* Rom. 16. 17, 18. *which cauſe diviſions and offences contrary to the doctrine which ye have learned: they ſerve not our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, but their own belly; and by good words and fair ſpeeches deceive the hearts of the ſimple.* 1 Cor. 3. 4, *One ſaith, I am*

of Paul, and another, I am of Apollo. 2 Cor. 10. 12. *Measuring themselves by themselves, and comparing themselves amongst themselves.* Gal. 1. 7. *That trouble you and would pervert the Gospel of Christ.* Gal. 2. 4 *False brethren unawares brought in, who came in privily to spie out our liberty, which we have in Christ Jesus, that they might bring us into bondage.* Gal. 4. 17. *They zealously affect you, but not well: yea, they would exclude you (or us) that you might affect them.* Phil. 1. 15, 16. *Some preach Christ of envy and strife, of contention not sincerely.* Phil. 2. 21. *All seek their own not the things which are Jesus Christs.* 1 Tim. 1. 5, 6, 7. *which having swarved from the end of the Commandment, have turned aside unto vain jangling, Desiring*

to be teachers of the law, underſtanding neither what they ſay, nor whereof they affirm. 1 Tim. 4. 1, 2. *Giving heed to ſeducing ſpirits and doctrines of Devils, ſpeaking lyes in hypocriſie, having their conſciencies ſeared with an hot iron.* 1 Tim. 6. 4, 5. *Proud, knowing nothing, but doting about queſtions, and ſtrifes of words, whereof cometh envy, ſtrife, raylings, evil ſurmiſings, perverſe diſputings of men of corrupt minds, and deſtitute of the truth, ſuppoſing that gain is godlineſs.* 2 Tim. 3. 6, 7, 8. *Which creep into houſes, and lead captive ſilly women, laden with ſins, led away with divers luſts, ever learning and never able to come to the knowledge of the truth. Now as Jannes and Jambres withſtood Moſes, ſo do theſe alſo reſiſt the truth:*

men of corrupt minds, reprobate concerning the faith. 2 Tim. 4. 3, 4. *The time will come, when they will not endure ſound doctrine, but after their own luſts ſhall they heap to themſelves teachers having itching ears: And they ſhall turn away their ears from hearing the truth, and ſhall be turned unto fables.* Tit. 1. 9, 10, 11. *Gain-ſayers, unruly and vain talkers and deceivers, who ſubvert whole houſes teaching things which they ought not for filthy lucre ſake.* ver. 16. *They profeſs that they know God: but in works they deny him, being abominable and diſobedient, and to every good work reprobate.* Agreeable whereunto is that which we find foretold by St. Peter, in the ſecond Chapter of his ſecond Epiſtle, and complained of by St. *Jude*; eſpecially

ally that which ſeemeth to be the moſt peculiar and proper ſin of theſe times, *deſpiſing dominion, and ſpeaking evil of dignities*. The truth of all which, although in the general it cannot be denyed, yet in the particular application thereof is bandied like a tennis ball by Chriſtians of ſeveral profeſſions againſt one another, none daring to let it reſt on their ſide, leſt withal they ſhould be forced to confeſs a loſs. Which though it may appear to be an argument of that generous diſpoſition which the very name and title of a Chriſtian ſeems to bring with it, poſſeſſing them that profeſs themſelves ſuch, with a general averſneſs to acknowledge any thing as juſtly laid unto their charge, which they

ſuſpect may barr them of that claim: yet I cannot conceive it altogether to agree with that ingenuity, or rather ſincerity, by which the ſpirit of truth may be diſtinguiſhed from the ſpirit of errour, whoſe property it is to make men willing to confeſs the truth, although it be againſt themſelves, and to acknowledge with *St. Paul*, that they *can do nothing againſt the truth, but for the truth*, 2 Cor 13. 8. For truth, as the God of truth, is but one, and can no more contradict itſelf, then ceaſe to be: ſo that they who are once convicted of untruth, muſt of neceſſity either acknowledge themſelves in an errour, or elſe be left for ever inexcuſable, unleſs they can ſhew ſome ſpecial priviledge, by which they are exempted

exempted from the general condition of all mankind. In which reſpect, methinks, there is no equity at all in recriminations, unleſs the parties accuſed can as well acquit themſelves, as charge their accuſers. Which though ſome men may do ſufficiently in ſome particulars, yet that any man can do in all, I cannot eaſily believe, until I ſee ſome limitation put upon that general pronunciate of *St. James*, Jam. 3.2. *In many things we offend all*: and that by the ſame authority, by which he ſpake it. So that laying aſide all partiality unto our ſelves, and prejudice againſt others, I ſuppoſe the readieſt, and indeed the onely ſure and certain means, to decide all controverted points, either of

opinion or practice amongſt men, purpoſely maintained and avowed by them, is to examine them how they agree with that which they pretend; and that which they pretend, with that which all good Chriſtians are agreed upon, the clear and undoubted principles of religion, ſo plainly expreſſed in the holy Scripture, that an ordinary underſtanding may eaſily apprehend the meaning of them. I mean not ſo, that every one who hears them ſhall be effectually wrought upon both to believe them, and obey them, or be enlightned ſo, as to ſee evidence of truth in every concluſion, that in direct form of argument may be deduced from them: but ſo, that he agrees with others, in the

genc-

general ſence and underſtanding of them, and will acknowledge, that what is contrary thereunto cannot be truth. In which regard, though many men have done worthily in confirming the truth, and convincing gainſayers, yet I conceive the moſt effectual means to reduce them that wander from the errour of their wayes, is to repreſent unto them apparent evidences of their own inconſtant contradictions, and the irreconciliable inconſiſtence of their own opinions and practices. For who ſhall juſtifie him that is condemned of himſelf? Or, what exception can any man take to his own evidence? *Out of thy own mouth will I condemn thee*, ſaith our Saviour in the parable, *Luk.* 19. 22. and, *Thou*

that

that teacheſt another, teacheſt thou not thy ſelf? ſaith St. *Paul*, *Rom.* 2. 21. Such an argument *ad hominem*, although it be not alwayes ſufficient to confirm what men undertake themſelves to maintain, yet may it be very available to convince their opponents, either of errour, or enormity: which as I conceive there is no man but is ſubject to, ſo hardly can I think any man ſo unreaſonable, but in his more retired thoughts he will acknowledge it unto himſelf, although peradventure, if not modeſty, yet pride will make him unwilling to confeſs it unto others. To ſet ſuch men before themſelves, and bring them to take notice of that which their own deceitful hearts would fain conceal from them, I have

taken

taken this pains. Wherein I ſhall have this advantage, that if it conduce not any thing to the publick good of others, yet I my ſelf in private may make uſe of it. For firſt, by this I hope it will appear, that the courſe which I have held (whatever ſucceſs it may meet with for the preſent) was not unadviſedly and raſhly undertaken, but upon ſerious conſideration; and that I could not with a good conſcience, alter my practice, unleſs I had been ſufficiently convinced of errour in mine opinion. And ſecondly it may be, that which I ſeek to teach others, I may have occaſion to learn my ſelf, or at leaſt many times to renew the remembrance of it. And I ſhall take it thankfully from them, that will

will favour me so much, as to inform of mine own contradictions, if they finde me in any. Which that I may expect, with all the freedom that I can from a personal ingagement, I make bold to continue the use of the same borrowed name, under which I have formerly shadowed my self.

October 21. 1642.

Irenæus Philalethes.

The Contents of this Diſcourſe.

SECT. I. *AN Introduction to the enſuing diſcourſe* p. 1

Sect. 2. *Of the ends, which men do, or ſhould propoſe unto themſelves in all their actions* p. 5

Sect. 3. *How to try the truth of our own pretended ends* p. 7

Sect. 4. *How to judge of other mens intentions, whether they be agreeable to their pretences, or no* p. 11

Sect. 5. *Some probable ocaſions to ſuſpect, although not neceſſary evidences to conclude, what other mens intentions are* p. 16

Sect. 6. *Mens actions and intertions are not alwayes of the ſame kinde, either good, or bad* p. 21

Sect. 7. *Rules of direction for the better diſcovery of the truth, or falſhood of the ends which men pretend* p. 23

Sect. 8. *Pretences are not alwayes to be taken upon truſt from other men* p. 25

Sect. 9. *The beſt means to try the truth, or the falſhood of other mens pretences* p. 26

Sect. 10. *The ſame illuſtrated by ſome examples* p. 31

Sect. 11. *Other evidences for the further perfecting of this diſcovery* p. 39

Sect. 12. *A real purpoſe of pretended ends is not*

not enough, unleſs the intended ends themſelves be ſuch as they ſhould be p.42

Sect. 13. *Inſtances of exceptions, that may be taken to the choice of ſuch means, as may be conducible to the ends, which they are uſed for* p. 45

Sect. 14. *Means effectually conducible to any end muſt not be uſed, if either unlawful in themſelves, or unto thoſe that uſe them.* p. 52

Sect. 15. *Amongſt different opinions of what is lawful, or unlawful, neceſſary, or indifferent in it ſelf, nothing is to be done againſt conſcience* p. 56

Sect. 16. *The right information of Conſcience, concerning what is unlawful, or neceſſary in it ſelf, is to be ſought for from the written word of God rightly underſtood and applyed* p. 59

Sect. 17. *Amongſt diverſ opinions, concerning the true underſtanding of Scripture, their doubtful differences are to be tried by their concord and agreement with undoubted truths commonly received and agreed upon as principles.* p. 61

Sect. 18. *Special immediate revelations from God, to ſhew what is unlawful, or neceſſary to our ſelves in particular, although uſeful heretofore, are neither to be expected, nor eaſily to be believed now* p. 68

Sect. 19. *Some directions to try the pretended revelations of private ſpirits by* p. 72

Sect. 20. *What to do in ſuch things, as are neither*

ther neceſſary, nor unlawful in themſelves, nor unto us in particular, but indefinitely, only unto men of ſuch particular places and callings, eſtates and conditions, as for the preſent we are in p. 76

Sect. 21. Things in themſelves indifferent may become either neceſſary, or unlawful to inferiours, being commanded, or forbidden them by their ſuperiours p. 79

Sect. 22. Of paſſive obedience in ſuffering wrong patiently. Whether ſubjects to defend themſelves, and maintain their own right, may by open violence, and force of arms, reſiſt their ſupreme Magiſtrates? p. 85

Sect. 23. The queſtion ſtated p. 89

Sect. 24. Cautions, with which the affirmative is limited by them that maintain it p. 92

Sect. 25. Exceptions to ſome principles, upon which they endeavour to ground their opinions, who maintain the affirmative p. 94.

Sect. 26. The queſtion whether ſubjects may reſiſt their ſoveraigns, belongs not peculiarly to Kings or Monarchs, alone, but is common unto them, with all ſupreme Magiſtrates, in what form of government ſoever it be p. 106

Sect. 27 Means warranted by God, as effectually conducible to any end, muſt not be refuſed, or neglected, under any pretence to the contrary whatſoever p. 109

Sect. 28. Means probably deſtructive of the ſupreme muſt not be uſed, though poſſibly they

The Contents.

might be available for ſubordinate ends p. 114
Sect. 29. *What means in their uſe are inconſiſtent with, or contrary to the advancement of the glory of God.* p. 119
Sect. 30. *Whether the glory of God may be advanced by the ſins of men* p. 121
Sect. 31. *Some means ſometimes probably conducible to the ſupreme and principal, if neceſſarily deſtructive of, or inconſiſtent with a particular ſubordinate end, are not alwayes to be uſed* p. 123
Sect. 32. *Men eminently vertuous, or notoriouſly vicious, how far to be truſted, and adhered unto, or ſhunned and declined* p. 126
Sect. 33. *Partiality and prejudice two great occaſions of confuſion in the world* p. 128
Sect. 34. *What difference is to be made between the opinions and practices of men eminently vertuous, and notoriouſly vicious* p. 133
Sect. 35. *A multitude muſt not be followed to do evil, nor the doing of good abſtained from, though it be to avoid the ſociety of a multitude of evil doers otherwiſe* p. 141
Sect. 36. *The concluſion* p. 147

Self-

Self-contradiction censured,

In a

Dialogue between

AFFECTION & JUDGMENT.

SECT. I.

An Introduction to the ensuing discourse.

SIR,

Affection. THE discourse which you fell into the other day, concerning the necessity of a right judgement, a good understanding, and a good conscience in all things, made then so deep an impression in my minde, that since it hath given me occasion to enter into a more serious consideration of mine own wayes, and to examine both mine actions and intentions more narrowly then heretofore. And now I

would gladly make use of this opportunity, to advise with you in some particulars, of which, if my resolution should be only ruled by my self, peradventure I might finde cause hereafter to repent me.

Judgment. I am glad that discourse wrought with you so well: for the truth is, my special aime therein was at your good, having for the love I bear you often observed your behaviour, and sometimes seen you so carried away with a vehement desire of compassing the ends you aimed at, without due consideration of the means, whereby you might attain unto them; sometimes so transported with a liking of the wayes which you were in, without looking to the end whereat they might arrive; sometimes so applauding some mens persons, and so admiring their graces, without taking any notice at all of their infirmities; sometimes so detesting some mens particular opinions and practices, that yon have fallen into a general disliking of their persons, and vilifying all (though otherwise good) that they have had

had any hand at all in; that I have almoſt been ready to accuſe my ſelf of a miſtake, and to reſolve that it was not *Affection* which I had ſet mine eyes upon, but Affectation. But if you be reſolved hereafter to uſe more circumſpection, I ſhall be as ready to aſſiſt you with the beſt advice I can, as you to deſire it.

Aff. There is nothing, whereby you may oblige me more, nor can I imagine how I ſhould teſtifie my thankfulneſs better, then by reſolving for the future to follow your directions, and for the preſent freely to unfold my doubts unto you.

Judg. As for your doubts, you ſhall do well to deal freely in diſcovering them: but for my directions, you had better reſerve your reſolution of following them, until you ſee reaſon to induce you thereunto. For *Judgement* is in danger ſometimes to be blinded, as well as *Affection* is to be enſnared: and therefore it is beſt, that we both joyn together to aſſiſt one another in uſing the means, whereby we may come to be rightly informed, both what we ſhould think, and what we

ſhould do, and wait for a bleſſing upon our endeavours, from him who giveth unto all men liberally, and upbraideth not.

Aff. That bleſſing I hope he will not withhold, having begun already to give it, by directing you ſo rightly your ſelf to ſingle out the main particulars, concerning which my purpoſe was to deſire your adviſe: *viz.* the propoſal of the ends which I ought to aim at, the choice of the means, which I ſhould uſe to thoſe ends, and that eſteem I ought to have them in, whom I obſerve to be richly adorned with eminent graces, or notoriouſly overtaken with falſe opinions, or evil practices. And as before I apprehended a poſsibility, that hereafter I might be, ſo now by your ſpeech I perceive there is ſome cauſe I ſhould ſuſpect, that I have been already miſtaken in that kinde.

Judg. Nor do you need to wonder at it, and to think it ſtrange, ſince it is no more then humane frailty maketh all men ſubject to, and that which the beſt ſometimes have had too much experience

ence of: as I shall shew you by particular examples, if you will propound your particular doubts concerning each of them in order.

Sect. II.

Of the ends which men do, or should propose unto themselves in all their actions.

Aff. IF you be so pleased then, I will begin with that, which is the first in all mens intentions, the end which they propose unto themselves in all their actions: and which for mine own part, I conceive is the principal thing to be enquired of. This I am resolved should be the advancement of the glory of God; and that nothing should be intended at all, but that which may be, not possibly onely, but necessarily also, or probably at least subservient thereunto.

Judg. So far you are right. But I doubt all men are not of the same minde: for St. *Paul* in his time found it otherwise.

Phil. 1. 15, 16, 17. He saith, *Some indeed preach Christ even of envy and strife, and some also of good will. The one preach Christ of contention, not sincerely, supposing to adde affliction to my bonds: But the other of love, knowing that I am set for the defence of the Gospel.* And speaking of *Timothy*. *Phil.* 2. 20, 21. He saith, *I have no man like minded, who will naturally care for your state. For all seek their own, not the things which are Jesus Christs.* Whereby it appeares, that St. *Paul* not onely thought it possible that some men might, but likewise found it by experience true, that many men did propose unto themselves one end in pretence, and another in truth. Nay, that which is yet more miserable, mens own deceitful hearts many times are apt to carry them away with a false perswasion of their own ends, and make them think they seek indeed the glory of God, when in truth it is but their own repute and credit amongst men.

Come with me, and see my zeal for the Lord, saith *Jehu* to *Jehonadab*, 2 *Kings* 10. 16. Yet *Jehu took no heed to walk in the law of the Lord God of Israel with all his heart: for*

he

he departed not from the ſins of Jeroboam, which made Iſrael to ſin. verſ. 31. *Jehu* it ſeems had more regard to his own royalty, then Gods religion, notwithſtanding his pretended zeal for the Lord. What a fair intent of doing juſtice unto every man did *Abſalom* profeſs, 2 *Sam.* 15. 4. when his purpoſe was to ſteal the hearts of the men of *Iſrael* from their own King, and his own father, *David*? And how did he make the pretended payment of a vow, which he had vowed to the Lord, in *Hebron*, the colour of his eſcape from *Jeruſalem*, and a cloak to cover his conſpiracy? So uſual a thing it is, as *Solomon* obſerves; *Prov.* 26. 23, 25. to finde *the potſheard of a wicked heart covered with the ſilver droſs of burning lips*, and for him that ſpeaketh fair to have *ſeven abominations in his heart.*

SECT. III.

How to try the truth of our own pretended ends.

Aſſ. THat this is too often true I dare not deny: but the difficulty is to

discover this deceit. For *counsel in the heart of man is as deep water*. Prov. 20. 5. and though *a man of understanding may draw it out*, yet every man is not alwayes furnished with means sufficient to that purpose. Therefore you shall do me a special pleasure, if you will give me some rules of direction to guide my self by in the trial both of mine own and other mens pretended ends.

Judg. For your own, as it concerns you most to be well assured of the truth of your intentions, so the means are more certain, if you will deale sincerely with your self in the use of them. The principal is to beg of God, that he would discover you unto your self, as *David* doth, *Psal.* 26. 2. *Examine me, O Lord, and prove me, try my reins and my heart*: and *Psal.* 139. 23, 24. *Search me, O God, and know my heart: try me, and know my thoughts: And see if there be any wicked way in me.* As it is he that knoweth, so it is he that *declareth unto man what is his thought*. *Am.* 4. 13. And if you be not willing to have your intentions thus tried and discovered unto you by him, but dig deep to hide

hide your counsels from the Lord, you have just cause to suspect, that your heart goes about to deceive you, and that you purpose something else then you pretend. Subordinate unto this may be your examination and tryal of your self in two particulars.

First, if your pretended end be that which you intend indeed, you will not rest satisfied with any thing else, until you have attained it: nay rather you will be impatient of every thing (though otherwise good and convenient) that you think may intercept, or interrupt the accomplishment of what you mainly desire. Thus *Abrahams* servant shewed plainly, that he came not unto *Labans* house for entertainment, but dispatch of his business, when he said, *I will not eat, till I have told mine errand.* Gen. 24. 23.

Secondly, if your pretended end be that which you intend indeed, you will rest satisfied with the accomplishment of that, although you fail of other things, which otherwise you might have had: nay rather you will be glad, and desire

to

to be deprived of, or debarred from any thing elſe, (how good, or convenient ſoever it may be) by looſing whereof the fruition of your main intended may be furthered. Thus St. *Paul* ſhews plainly, that the propagation and defence of the Goſpel was his main deſign, when he ſaith, *None of theſe things move me, neither count I my life dear unto my ſelf, ſo that I may finiſh my courſe with joy, and the miniſtry, which I have received of the Lord Jeſus, to teſtifie the Goſpel of the grace of God.* Acts 20. 24. Thus *Mephiboſheth* ſhewed plainly, that he was ſincerely indeed affected unto *Davids* ſafety, when he was content to have parted, not onely with the half of his eſtate, but even with the whole, unto his own treacherous ſervant *Ziba*, ſo long as he ſaw the *King come again in peace to his own houſe.* 2 Sam. 19. 30.

SECT.

SECT. IV.

How to judge of other mens intentions, whether they be agreeable to their pretences, or no.

FOr other mens intents, though you cannot ſo certainly know them, as your own, nor need alwayes to enquire after them: yet, when they are of publick and common concernment, and are urged as motives to draw you into action with them, it behoves you to take heed, that your opinions of them be not lightly undertaken, but upon good ground of reaſon: which muſt be gathered from that evidence you find of likelyhood and probability (for abſolute aſſured certainty there can be none) that what they pretend they purpoſely aim at, and intend indeed: and in the right apprehenſion, and application, of that evidence eſpecially conſiſts the exerciſe and uſe, of that ſound wiſdom and diſcretion wherewith a good man guideth his affairs, as the *Pſamiſt* ſpeaks. *Pſal.* 112. 5. and

5. and whereby he is taught to walk uprightly and evenly, between that weak and simple partiality, which believeth every word, and that uncharitable prejudice, which not onely suspecteth, but censureth also as unsound, the most seemingly sincere professions. To lend you some light in making this discovery, let me commend to your consideration these particulars.

First, that mens intentions are many times varied by the success of their actions, and they alter their ends, as means, occasions, and opportunities, either frown upon, or favour them. And so sometimes that which was at first intended as an end, comes afterward to be made use of onely as a means unto another end. Thus the end that *Absalom* intended, when he sent *Joab* unto *David*, 2 *Sam.* 14. 32. was the regaining of his fathers grace and favour, but afterwards he made use of that grace & favour for another end, the promoting of his treasonable intent of usurping the kingdom, which it may be before he dreamed not of. And sometimes that which was at the first

intended

intended onely as a means unto a further end, comes afterward to be reſted in as intended it ſelf, without relation unto any other end. Thus *Jeroboam* and the ten tribes intended, or elſe pretended, as the onely end they aimed at, the making of their burthens lighter; and their revolt from *Rehoboam* and the houſe of *David*, ſeemed onely as a means to compaſs that end: but afterward they reſted in that, as if they had all that they deſired, and never regarded to return again to their obedience upon any termes. And ſometimes men being croſt in the ends that they before intended, and coming to diſcover the impoſſibility, inconvenience, or errour of them, utterly forſake them, and ſet upon others. Thus when St. *Paul went to the high Prieſt, and deſired of him letters to Damaſcus*, the end he intended was, *that if he found any diſciples of the Lord, he might bring them bound unto Jeruſalem. Acts* 9. 1,2. But when he returned to *Jeruſalem*, the end he aimed at was the propagation of the Goſpel, and the confirmation of that faith, which once he had deſtroyed. If therefore you would

would judge aright of other mens intentions, you must be careful to distinguish between their intentions that have been heretofore, and those that are now, otherwise you may be much mistaken.

Secondly consider, that the success of mens actions many times either is, or may be, much different from the ends which they intend in them. Thus *Josephs* brethren intended nothing less then his advancement in *Egypt* by *Pharoah*, when they sold him to the *Ishmaelites*; yet God by that means brought it to pass. And it may be the alteration of Religion to Idolatry was not intended by *Jeroboam* and the ten tribes, when they revolted from the tribe of *Judah*, and rebelled against *Rehoboam*, and the house of *David*, at least they made no shew thereof; but onely the making lighter of that yoak, which they conceived to be grievous and heavy; yet the change of the government quickly brought forth the change of the Religion too. Therefore you may be mistaken, if you think that alwayes to have been the end intended in other mens actions, which you finde to be the

effect

effect that followeth thereupon: or if you think, that ſuch an effect will never follow upon ſuch an action, becauſe it is not the end intended in it.

Thirdly conſider, that many men imployed, at the ſame time, in the ſame action, may notwithſtanding have divers intentions, and propoſe unto themſelves different ends. Thus St. *Paul* complains, *Phil.* 1, 15,16,17. *Some indeed preach Chriſt even of envy and ſtrife, and ſome alſo of good will. The one preach Chriſt of contention, not ſincerely, ſuppoſing to add affliction to my bonds: but the other of love, knowing that I am ſet for the defence of the Goſpel.* Therefore it is no good conſequence to ſay, *S*ucha man doth the ſame that other men do, therefore he aims at the ſame end with them.

Fourthly conſider, that divers men imployed, at the ſame time, in different actions, may notwithſtanding aim at, and propoſe unto themſelves, one and the ſame end. Thus the thirty thouſand that lay in ambuſh againſt *Ai*, and *Joſhua* with the men of *Iſrael*, that made as though they were beaten before the men

of

of *Ai*, and fled by the way of the wilderness, all intended the destruction of the City. *Josh.* 8. Thus *Ittai*, that would not be perswaded to return into *Jerusalem*, but passed over the brook *Kidron* before *David*, and *Zadok* and *Abiathar*, that carried the ark of God again to *Jerusalem*, and tarried there, and *Hushai* the Archite, that returned to the City, and aboda with Absolom, all intended *Davids* safety. 2 *Sam.* 15. Therefore it is no good consequence to say, Because this and that mans actions are different, therefore their ends are not the same.

Sect. V.

Some probable occasions to suspect, although not necessary evidences to conclude, what other mens intentions are.

Aff. Give me leave, Sr. to interrupt you a little. I thought you would have given me some rules, whereby I might have known what other mens inten-

intentions are, and whether they purpose that indeed, which they pretend, or no. But for ought I perceive, these considerations which you offer me, are such, as rather tend to darken the discovery, and make me doubt, whether all endeavours in this kind will not prove altogether vain and fruitless.

Judg. How apt you are to be mistaken? My purpose is indeed to give you the best directions that I can, how you may judge of other mens intentions, and not be deceived therein: but first I thought it requisite to let you see, how many wayes you may be misled, and what appearances you ought not alwayes to give heed unto, as necessary evidences to ground a certain resolution on: although I deny not, but that they may give just occasion many times to some suspition, or surmise, especially then when you plainly perceive them agreeable unto, or differing from that which is openly professed and pretended. As if you perceive the ends which any man doth now pretend, to be different from those which he formerly professed to

intend, you may very reasonably suspend your resolution, that he deals sincerely now, untill you have more then his own bare word to warrant it. Thus when St. *Paul* was come to *Heirusalem*, and assayed to joyn himself to the disciples, they were all afraid of him, and believed not that he was a disciple, but *Barnabas* took him and brought him to the Apostles, and declared unto them, how he had seen the Lord in the way, and that he had spoken to him, and how he had preached boldly at *Damascus*, in the name of *Jesus*; and then he was with them coming in and going out at *Heirusalem*. *Acts* 9. 26,27,28. So if you see the success of mens actions directly contrary to the ends, which they pretended to aim at in those actions, and yet that they are well pleased with, and glad of such success, you may probably suspect, that notwithstanding their pretences, the ends which they intended before, were the same with the effects that followed after. And on the contrary, if the success of mens actions be agreeable unto the ends that they pretended, and yet they appear

to be grieved with it, and displeased at it, you have then just cause to conceive, that either their pretences before were false, or else that their intentions are altered since. Thus *David* discovereth the falsehood of his feigned friends, indeed his treacherous enemies, by their rejoycing in his adversity. *Psal.* 35. 15. And by their magnifying of themselves against him, when his foot slipped, *Psal.* 38. 16. But *Saul* pretending that he delighted in *David*, and meant his advancement by the marriage of his daughter, desiring no other dowry of him, but an hundred foreskins of the *Philistines*, it plainly appeared, that he meant not truly, but dissembled with *David*, in that he was grieved with his good success, and was the more afraid of him the more he prospered. 1 *Sam.* 18. 12. &c. So when you see many men at the same time, ingage themselves in the same actions, you must have other reasons more then their own professions onely, to induce you to be of another opinion, or else you may very well suppose it probable, that the ends they aim at are

the ſame. Thus *Sampſon* would have the three thouſand men, that came to him in the top of the rock *Etam*, to ſwear unto him, that they would not fall upon him themſelves, before he would believe, that coming to binde him, as the *Philiſtines* did, they meant not to kill him too, *Judg.* 15. 12, 13. And when you hear divers men profeſſing to aim at the ſame end, and yet notwithſtanding ſee that they engage themſelves in different actions, you may probably conjecture, if you ſhould give credit to their bare pretences, that you might be deceived. Thus the diſciples, till they were better inſtructed by our Saviour Chriſt, *forbad him whom they ſaw caſting out Devils in his name, becauſe he followed not with them.* *Luke* 9. 49. So that every appearance, though it be not a ſufficient evidence of truth in that opinion which is guided by it, yet may be an occaſion to ſuppoſe it ſo, till further enquiry diſcover what it is indeed.

SECT.

SECT. VI.

Mens actions and intentions are not alwayes of the same kinde, either good, or bad.

Aff. IT seems then you think, that even in the prosecution of good actions, some men may have evill intentions, and that some men who aim indeed at good ends, may take advantage of some evil Actions to attain them by.

Judg. It is true that they may, for experience shews plainly that they have done so. *Judas* his end in saluting his *Master with a kiss, was to betray him. Mat.* 26. 48,49. *Davids* end, in the kind entertainment he gave unto *Urijah*, was the cloaking of his own adultery. 2 *Sam.* 11. And on the contrary *Hushai* his counterfeit kindness, and professed fidelity to *Absalom*, was purposely intended to defeat *Achitophels* counsel, 2 *Sam.* 16. 26. &c. *Rebecca*, to get the blessing for her son

Jacob, perſwaded him to lye unto his father *Iſaac*, *Gen.*27.8, &c. *Sarah*, to provid for the propagation of the promiſed ſeed, perſwaded her husband *Abraham* to go in unto her hand-maid *Hagar*, *Gen.* 16.2. Therefore to argue the goodneſs of the end from the goodneſs of the action, or that becauſe the action is evil, the end is alſo ſuch, is never a neceſſary, but may be ſometimes a falſe illation.

SECT. VII.

Rules of direction for the better diſcovery of the truth, or falſhood, of the ends, which men pretend.

Aff. WHat other rules of direction will you give me then, whereby I may guide my ſelf better, in diſcovering the truth, or falſhood, of the ends which men pretend?

Judg. Firſt, I would have you, as much you can, to rid your ſelf of all partiality and prejudice, and when you enter

enter upon this enquiry, to do it with all possible indifferency. A preconceived opinion in the mind, like perspective made of coloured glasse, will render every thing as like it self as may be: and if before you enter into your enquiry, you entertain an opinion of other mens pretences, that they are either agreeable unto, or different from, the ends which they intend indeed, it will be a difficult matter to perswade you to the contrary almost by any argument.

Secondly, I would have you to take heed of trusting too much unto any one apparent evidence: for in conjectural cases, where the resolution must be swaied by the most probabilities, many circumstances must concur, as several items, to make up the total sum of that concluded argument, wherewith the mouth of contradiction may be stopped.

Thirdly I would not have you too apt to entertain an opinion that any mans intended ends are otherwise, then he himselfe pretendeth and professeth, without very probable inducements to

perſwade you to it. For though diſtruſt as well as diſsimulation, be many times more agreeable to humane worldly policy, then confidence and ſingle hearted ſincerity; which made him in the Satyre ſay, *Haud rectè ſatit, qui facile credit*: yet the rule of religious piety, and Chriſtian charity, is rather to bear, believe, hope and endure all things, then to be eaſily provoked to think any evil, 1*Cor.*13 5,7. And I would rather have you be miſtaken twice, in eſteeming better of mens intentions and purpoſes, then they deſerve, then once, in judging worſe of them, then you have juſt cauſe to do. For though there be a woe pronounced againſt them, *that call evil good*, as well as againſt them, *that call good evil*, *Iſai.* 5.20. Yet of the two (ſo they do it not wilfully, or carefully) I doubt not but they finde more favour with the Lord, whoſe own ſincerity makes them apt to be deceived by other mens hypocriſie, then they, whoſe own hypocriſie makes them over-ſuſpitious of other mens ſincerity.

SECT.

SECT. VIII.

Pretences are not alwayes to be taken upon trust from other men.

Aff. WEre it not best then, for fear of offending in censuring too hardly of other mens intentions, to give credit to their own pretences, and take them upon trust, without any further inquiry concerning them?

Judg. No, for our Saviour requires in his sheep serpentine wisdom, as well as dove-like simplicity, *Mat.* 10. 16. and St. *John* saith expresly, *Believe not every spirit, but try the spirits, whether they are of God.* 1 *John* 4. 1. which certainly he would not have done, unless it were possible as well as necessary, and unless there were some means to do it by, as well as reason why it should be done. And that which I have hitherto said, tends not to discourage you altogether, from entering upon such an inquiry, but onely to give you warning to be circumspect and wary

wary what you do, that you may not be deceived with seeming shewes, instead of solid truths.

Sect. IX.

The best means to try the truth, or falshood, of other mens pretences.

Aff. I Pray you then, if you can, at last deliver me of this doubt, how I may discern between falshood and truth, in the pretences, and professions, which other men make of their intended ends.

Judg. This it were easier to do in some particular cases, then to give any general rule, that shall hold indifferently in all. Yet as well as I can, I will indeavour to satisfie your desire therein. And to that purpose I would have you consider, that as unity and verity are alwayes inseparable companions, so falshood is seldome or never severed from such variety, as makes it inconsistent with it self, which gives occasion to that common saying, *Oportet mendacem esse memorem.*

Our

Our Saviour himſelf ſpeaking of the devil, the father of lies, ſaith, *He was a murtherer from the beginning, and abode not in the truth, becauſe there is no truth in him.* *John* 8.44. His meaning is not, that the devil can never ſpeak any truth at all, but that he cannot continue conſtant to that truth he ſpeaks: the truth is not in him, no more then he is of the truth: and the truth that he ſpeaks ſometimes, is an evidence againſt him, that at other times he lies. Thus the ſpirit that undertook to perſwade *Ahab*, that he might go up, and fall at *Ramoth Gilead*, ſpake truth, when he ſaid, *he would go forth, and be a lying ſpirit in the mouth of Ahabs prophets*, 1 *Kings* 22.22. But he quickly fell off again from that truth, when he contradicted *Micaiah*, by the mouth of *Zedekiah*, and pretended himſelf to be the ſpirit of the Lord. *They went out from us*, ſaith St. *Paul*, *but they were not of us: for if they had been of us, they would no doubt have continued with us: but they went out, that they might be made manifeſt, that they were not all of us.* 1 John 2, 19. and Chap. 4. 5, 6. *They are of the world, therefore ſpeak they of the*

world

world, and the world heareth them. We are of God: he that knoweth God heareth us: hereby know we the spirit of truth, and the spirit of errour. By this I suppose it may appear, that the best means to try the truth of other mens pretences, is to examine their own agreement with themselves, and how they keep constant to their own professed principles; for if it appear, that indeed they contradict themselves, and that there is an inconsistent contrariety between the ends that they pretend to aim at, and the principles upon which they ground their proceedings in action, as with relation to those ends, they must of necessity confess a falsehood in the one, or in the other, and either renounce their own principles, and so condemn their own actions, or else, if they will stick fast unto those, and justifie these, you may certainly conclude, that what ever they did before, yet now they aim at other ends than they pretend. For actions are never undertaken as means, but with relations unto ends, and it is impossible, that any man should purposely persist in

the

the uſe of thoſe as means, which he knows are deſtructive of the ends which he intends. This I ſuppoſe is that which St. *Paul* aims at, when he ſaith, *If I build again the things which I deſtroyed, I make my ſelf a tranſgreſſor.* Gal. 2. 18. and I doubt not but it would have been as true, if he had ſaid, *If I deſtroy again the things which I had built. A man that is an heretick* ſaith the ſame Apoſtle, *after the firſt and ſecond admonition reject: Knowing that he that is ſuch is ſubverted, and ſinneth, being condemned of himſelf.* Tit. 3. 10, 11. And though there be no note of connexion between thoſe two verſes, and the two former, yet it may not be amiſs to obſerve, that the Apoſtle hath placed theſe words next unto thoſe, wherein he had ſaid, *This is a faithful ſaying, and theſe things I will that thou affirm conſtantly, that they which have believed in God might be careful to maintain good works: theſe things are good and profitable for men. But avoid fooliſh queſtions, and genealogies, and contentions and ſtrivings about the Law: for they are unprofitable and vain.* As intimating, that the ſelfe condemnation of hereticks appears

pears in this, that the errors in opinion, and enormities in action, which they purposely maintain and practise, are contrary to, and inconsistent with the ends, which they profess to aime at, namely, the glory of God in their own and other mens eternal good, and spiritual profit, *that they may be made heires, according to the hope of eternal life*, as he speaks *ver.* 7. so that if you see men avow such actions, allow themselves liberty to keep such courses, and plead such principles in their defence, as are contrary to, and inconsistent with the ends which they pretend, you have reason to suspect their pretences to be false: if when that inconsistent contrariety is plainly discovered, and made known unto them, they renounce those principles, condemn themselves for those practises, and apply themselves afterwards unto those other courses, which are undoubtedly available unto those ends, you have good cause then to conceive, that what they professed they purposely intended, and that in undertaking those actions, and urging those principles to ground them on,

on, they did but *humanum pati*, discover that common infirmity, which all mankind is subject to, *errare, labi, decipi*, and so deserve rather to be censured of ignorance and misunderstanding, then of hypocrisie and dissimulation. But if when the inconsistent contrariety of the means they use, and the ends they pretend to aim at, is evidently demonstrated, and laid open before them, they either wilfully shut their eyes, and will not see it, or obstinately persist in their courses notwithstanding, you may then conclude (with as much certainty as other mens intentions can be known with) that those ends, which they intend indeed, are not the same which they make shew of, and profess.

Sect. X.

The same illustrated by some Examples.

Aff. IN this that you have said there seems to be so much evidence of truth

truth, that I do not ſee what can be objected againſt it. Yet I ſhould be better ſatisfied, if you would be pleaſed to illuſtrate it a little, with ſome few particular examples.

Judg. For the firſt, that there is cauſe to ſuſpect thoſe men of falſehood in their pretences, whoſe courſes are inconſiſtent with the ends which they profeſs to aim at, you may ſee by *St. Paul*, who blamed St. *Peter*, and withſtood him to his face, when he ſaw that he walked not uprightly, according to the truth of the Goſpel, and ſaid unto him, *If thou being a Jew liveſt after the manner of the Gentiles, and not as do the Jews, why compelleſt thou the Gentiles to live as do the Jews?* *Gal.* 2. 14. St. *Peters* behaviour in withdrawing and ſeparating himſelf from the Gentiles for fear of the Jews, was in *St. Pauls* apprehenſion inconſiſtent with that Chriſtian liberty, which they both profeſſed to intend the maintenance of, againſt *the falſe brethren unawares brought in, who came in privily to ſpy out their liberty, which they had in Chriſt Jeſus, that they might bring them into bondage.* ver. 4. Therefore

fore St. *Paul* saith he was to be blamed, as both dissembling himself, and giving occasion unto others to dissemble with him. If you say, that the dissimulation there was not in the end, but in the action: I grant it true, yet withal I may adde, that the dissimulation was not of the action, but of the end. For the action is alwayes more apparent then the end, and there is greater cause to suspect that which is secret, then that which is open. So that St. *Paul* might well ask St. *Peter*, why he did so, and could not be certainly assured, that he dealt sincerely in publickly professing the end with himself, untill he knew some other seeming reason, that misguided him to take such a contrary course of practise as he did.

For the second, St *Paul* shewed himself indeed to be zealous of the Law, even whilst he was a Pharisee, in that when he was converted, and came to understand, that *Christ was the end of the Law for righteousness to every one that believeth*, Rom. 10. 4. and *that the Law of righteousness was not to be attained unto by*

the works of the Law but onely by faith. Rom. 9.30,31,32. he conferred not with fleſh and blood, which would have perſwaded him ſtill to have continued, as he had been formerly, exceedingly zealous of the traditions of his fathers, having *profited in the Jews religion above many of his equals in his own nation*, Gal.1.14, 16. *But what things had formerly been gain unto him, thoſe he counted loſs for Chriſt*, &c. *Phil*.3.7. Not making *void the Law through faith, but eſtabliſhing the Law*, *Rom.* 3.31. Whereas the Scribes and Phariſees, and the reſt of the unbelieving Jews, rejected or made fruſtrate, and of none effect, the Commandment of God, that they might keep their own traditions: as our Saviour complains, *Mar.*7.6, &c. and taxeth them expreſly of hypocriſie therein: which could not be aſcribed to any falſehood and diſſimulation in their actions (for what they practiſed they purpoſed, as well as profeſſed) but in their ends, which they pretended to be the ſtrict obſervation of the Commandments of God, but meant thoſe doctrines of their own, by which they taught men,

not

not to obey, but to tranſgreſs the Commandments of God; as there he makes it evident, by their falſe gloſs upon the firſt Commandment, and upon others, *Mat.* 5.17, &c. By vindicating of the Law from which he made it appear, that he came not to deſtroy, but to fulfil it. And therefore when the Jews accuſed St. *Paul*, that he taught all men every where againſt the people, and the Law, and the Temple, *Acts* 21.28. he pleads not guilty unto all: that they neither found him in the Temple diſputing with any man, neither raiſing up the people, neither in the Synagogues: but he openly confeſſeth, that after the way which they call hereſie, ſo worſhipped he the God of his fathers, believing all things which are written in the Law and the Prophets, and having hope towards God, which they themſelves alſo allowed, that there ſhall be a reſurrection of the dead, &c. *Acts* 24.12, &c. and *Acts* 25.8. *Neither againſt the Law of the Jews, neither againſt the Temple, nor yet againſt Ceſar have I offended any thing at all.* And therefore though *Tertullus* pretend, that when

they took him they would have judged him according to their Law, & complain of great violence in the chief Captain *Lysias*, when he took him away out of their hands, commanding his accusers to come unto *Felix* the governour to be examined, *Acts* 24.6.7,8. Yet he chargeth *Annanias* the high Priest with injustice, that sitting to judge him after the Law, he commanded him to be smitten contrary to the Law. *Acts* 23.3. And though he himself appeal unto *Cesar*, and say, *I stand at Cesars judgement seat, where I ought to be judged. And if I be an offender, or have committed any thing worthy of death, I refuse not to die: but if there be none of these things, whereof these accuse me, no man may deliver me unto them:* yet he urgeth *Festus* his own knowledge for it, that *unto the Jews he had done no wrong*, *Acts* 25. 10, 11. The reason was, because he did indeed, that which they only pretended to do: as appears by the like apologie, which he makes unto the chief of the Jews at *Rome*, *Acts* 28. 17, &c.

For the third, when *Johanan* the son of

of *Kareah*, and the captains of the forces, and the people that were with him, beſought *Jeremiah* to pray unto the Lord for them, *that he might ſhew them the way, wherein they might walk, and the thing that they might do*, *Jer.*42.2,3. profeſſing that they would obey the voice of the Lord their God what ever it were, *ver.* 5, 6. *Jeremiah* tells them plainly *ver.* 20. *that they diſſembled in their hearts*, when they ſaid ſo: and their behaviour afterward made it plainly to appear, that he was not miſtaken, when they directly contradicted, not him alone, but themſelves alſo, and ſaid, *As for the word that thou haſt ſpoken unto us in the name of the Lord, we will not hearken unto thee: But we will certainly do whatſoever thing goeth forth of our own mouth*, *Chap.* 44. 16, 17. Thus our Saviour convinceth the Jews, that what ever they pretended, yet he knew that the love of God was not in them, becauſe he came in his fathers name, and they received him not, and yet were ready to receive another, that ſhould come in his own name, *John* 5. 42,43. That for all the great confidence in *Moſes*

which they boasted of, yet they believed him not in deed: *There is one*, saith he, *that accuseth you, even Moses, in whom ye trust. For had ye believed Moses, ye would have believed me: for he wrote of me.* ver. 45, 46.

By this you may perceive, how necessary it is, that to clear the sincerity of mens pretended ends, they should order all their actions so, and especially produce such principles only to plead for them by, as that there may appear a constant accord and uniformity between them all; and that the apparent contrariety, and inconsistent contradiction of mens actions practised and ends pretended (so long as those actions are avowed and persisted in) is the most unanswerable evidence that can be gathered, of falsehood and hypocrisie in that which they profess to aim at and intend.

SECT.

SECT. XI.

Other evidences for the further perfecting of this diſcovery.

Aff. BUt may there not be ſome other evidences, which joyned with this may help to perfect the diſcovery?

Judg. I doubt not but there may, and I will give you Inſtances of ſome. One ſhall be this, If you ſee an underſtanding and conſiderate man, that is wont to do nothing but adviſedly (for there is no certain hold to be had of them that do all things as at random raſhly) making ſhew to intend ſome particular end, as conducible, or agreeable unto ſome other general end, which you are confident he ſtandeth engaged for, and really intends the accompliſhment thereof, you may well be perſwaded of the truth of that, as well as of this intention. But if there appear an expreſs contrariety, or inconſiſtent contradiction, between the

one end and the other, you may eaſily conceive, that the more particular pretended end (eſpecially if it be not of ſo great importance to the agent, as the other more general) is not really intended indeed. Thus the *Philiſtines* general intended end being the oppreſſion of the *Iſraelites*, and weakening them ſo, that they might ſubdue them at their pleaſure, it might eaſily appear, that the policy they uſed, in ſuffering no *Smith* in Iſrael, was purpoſely intended, as they ſaid, leſt the Hebrews ſhould make them ſwords or ſpears: becauſe this particular end was both agreeable, and conduceable unto that general end. 1 *Sam.* 13.9,&c. Thus *Huſhai* his faithful friendſhip unto *David* being generally known, and that he really intended indeed the ſafety of the King, it was weakly done of *Abſolom* and the men of Iſrael, to believe at the firſt, without any other evidence beſides his own teſtimony, that *Huſhai's* coming unto *Abſolom* was purpoſely intended, as he profeſſed, to ſerve in his preſence, as he had done in his fathers, 2 *Sam.* 16.16,&c. becauſe it agreed

not

not with his other more general and more important end, and therefore might justly have been suspected of falsehood and dissimulation.

Another shall be this, If you see an understanding man make profession of proposing such an end unto himself, as you are sure he knows well enough it is impossible for him to obtain, you may easily believe, that he intends it not: nay hardly shall you finde, that any man really intends any end, of which he hath not some probability at least to ground an hopeful expectation upon. Thus had not the Lord of purpose infatuated *Absalom* and the men of Israel, to defeat the good counsel of *Achitophel*, that he might bring evil upon *Absolom*, they might easily have seen, that *Hushai* intended nothing less then *Davids* destruction, when he propounded the drawing of that city into the river with ropes, into which he supposed *David* might be gotten, 2 *Sam.* 17. 13, 14. a project, if not altogether impossible, yet so improbable, that no reasonable man could imagine he ever intended it indeed.

But

But I will add no more concerning the discovery of other mens intended ends: because as I said before, there is no such absolute certainty therein, but that do the best you can, you may peradventure be mistaken, unless you had that extraordinary gift of discerning spirits, whereof St. *Paul* speaks, 1 *Cor.* 12. 10. which is not now adayes to be expected. Therefore if you will, let us proceed unto your next enquiry, about those actions, which are used as means, for the obtaining of those ends, that are pretended.

SECT. XII.

A real purpose of pretended ends is not enough, unless the intended ends themselves be such as they should be.

Aff. NAy, one thing more before we proceed, I pray you give me leave to enquire further of you. Taking it for granted, that the ends which men

men profeſs to aim at, are really indeed intended by them, yet that I ſuppoſe is not ſufficient to warrant them. For though no man I preſume will pretend, or can indeed intend any ends, but thoſe which either are indeed, or elſe at leaſt appear unto him to be good; yet many men I doubt are miſtaken in their own ends, and propoſe thoſe things unto themſelves to be obtained, which they ought not to ſeek.

Judg. It is true as you ſay: and therefore, as the end of every action, though laſt in execution, is firſt in intention, and conſequently holds a principal place in the affection of the agent, ſo the firſt and chiefeſt care, about both your own and other mens ends, muſt be to be rightly informed, whether they be good indeed or no. But for ſubordinate ends, becauſe in reſpect of thoſe that are ſupreme, they are but intermediate means, we ſhall ſpeak of them afterwards: and for the ſupreme end of all, you ſaid well at the firſt, that it muſt be the advancement of the glory of God, & that nothing muſt be intended at all, but that which may

be

be probably at leaſt ſubſervient thereunto. Therefore without any further enquiry let us take it for granted, that they who indeed propoſe unto themſelves the advancement of the glory of God, and they who profeſs and pretend to do ſo, are ſo far forth to be approved of: and they that ſo far neglect the glory of God, as either to propoſe unto themſelves, or pretend unto others, that they aim at ſuch ends, as are altogether contrary unto, or any way inconſiſtent with, the advancement thereof, are ſo far forth blame worthy. This I ſuppoſe there is no man ſo impudent as to deny, and therefore I will not go about to prove it, but proceed unto your next enquiry.

SECT.

SECT. XIII.

Inſtances of exceptions, that may be taken to the choice of ſuch means, as may be conducible to the ends, which they are uſed for.

Aff. THe next thing that I deſire to be informed in, is the choice of the means, which I ſhould uſe, for obtaining of the ends, which I propoſe unto my ſelf. Theſe I ſuppoſe muſt be ſuch, as either of neceſsity muſt, or at leaſt in probability may be effectually conducible unto the ends I uſe them for.

Judg. That rule may be generally true, and for the moſt part: yet it is ſubject unto ſome exceptions, and muſt be limited with divers cautions, whereof I will give you theſe particular inſtances.

Firſt, ſome means may be conducible unto the general ſupreme end of all things,

things, the advancement of the glory of God, which are not properly conducible unto some one particular subordinate end, which you may aim at as subservient unto the general. As for example, the advancement of the glory of God was the general supreme end that St. *Paul* aimed at in preaching the Gospel, in preaching the Gospel to the Corinthians freely, and in taking wages of the Philippians, he had divers particular subordinate ends, yet both subservient unto the general, and as the partticular ends were divers, so the means he used to that purpose were different, or rather contrary. That the Philippians should communicate with him, as concerning giving and receiving, he was well content, because he desired fruit that might abound to their account, *Phil.* 4.15,17. But amongst the Corinthians he would be chargeable to no man, that he might cut off occasion from them which desired occasion, 2 *Cor.* 11. 9,12. and being crafty might catch them with guile, 2 *Cor.* 12. 16. To preach the Gospel freely at *Philippi*, and to take wages at *Corinth*,

ninth, though alike conducible unto the ſupreme and general, had yet been deſtructive of the particular ſubordinate ends, that St. *Paul* did aim at and intend.

Secondly, ſome means may be properly conducible unto ſome particular ſubordinate ends, that are not alwayes conducible unto, but rather ſometimes deſtructive of the general ſupreme end. For inſtance, the advancement of the glory of God was the ſupreme end that St. *Paul* aimed at in Preaching the Goſpel: the preſervation of St. *Pauls* life and liberty was a ſpecial ſubordinate end ſubſervient unto that general; which both himſelf was careful of, and the Churches prayed for, *Acts* 23.6,17,&c. *Acts* 25. 10,11. *Phil.* 22. St. *Pauls* forbearance to go up to *Jeruſalem* might in all probability have been a means to preſerve his life and liberty, but had been a means withal to prevent him of that opportunity which there was to be offered unto him, of advancing the glory of God, in being ſet for the defence of the Goſpel, which makes him ſo paſſionately

put

put them off, who earnestly besought and would fain have perswaded him not to go up to *Jerusalem*. *What mean you to weep and to break my heart, Acts* 21.13. And himself professeth afterward, that the things which happened unto him, had fallen out rather unto the furtherance of the Gospel. *Phil.* 1.12.

Thirdly, some means in the eye of humane sence and reason, may probably seem to be contrary unto, or inconsistent with either the general and supreme, or particular subordinate ends, which men aim at, and yet may be requisite and necessary to be used, for the obtaining of those ends, being specially warranted to that purpose by Gods own direction. Thus to the end that God might advance his own honour, by delivering the Midianites into the hands of the Israelites, *Gideons* army of 32000. must be reduced unto bare 300. by Gods own appointment, *Judg.* 7.

Fourthly, some means in the eye of humane sense and reason, may probably appear to be either requisite and necessary, or at least conducible unto the ends

ends intended by them, which yet muſt not be uſed, as being either in themſelves unlawful, or by ſome ſpecial direction from God prohibited. Thus the cutting off of *Sauls* life had in all probability been a ſpeedy and effectual means of advancing the glory of God, in haſtening *David* to the quiet poſſeſſion of the kingdom of Iſrael, whereunto he had been ordained by God, and anointed by *Samuel*: yet *David* neither dare himſelf ſtretch forth his own hand againſt the Lords anointed, nor ſuffer *Abiſhai* to ſmite him, 1 *Sam.* 26.8, &c, nay his own heart ſmote him, becauſe he had cut off *Sauls* ſkirt, 1 *Sam.* 24. 5. Thus the deſtruction of the Gibeonites was a probable means to perfect the conqueſt of the land of *Canaan*, yet the children of Iſrael might not touch them, becauſe *Joſhuah* had made peace with them, and the Princes of the Congregation had ſworn unto them: although therein they had dealt unadviſedly, yea contrary to the general direction, which they had received from God himſelf, *Deut.* 7.2. and in ſundry other places: and though

all the Congregation murmured againſt the Princes for it, *Joſh.*9. Yea, when almoſt 400.years after, *Saul* in his zeal to the children of Iſrael and Judah, ſought to ſlay the Gibeonites, God puniſhed it in the dayes of *David*, with three years famine year after year, and God was not intreated for the land, till after that they had performed all that theKing had commanded,according to the Gibeonites requeſt,2 *Sam.*12. So to take the next way thorow the land of the Philiſtines,might appear to be a ready means, for the advancement of Gods glory, in the ſpeedy performance of his promiſe to his people, in putting them into poſſeſſion of the land of *Canaan*, the lot of their inheritance: Yet becauſe God would have it ſo, they muſt be led about, thorow the way of the wilderneſs of the Red ſea, though there they wandered forty years together. *Exod.*13. 17, 18. Nay, rather then go the direct way thorow the country of the Edomites, without the *Kings* leave, he refuſing to permit them paſſage, although they promiſed to behave themſelves peaceably, they muſt turn away

away from him, *Num.* 20. So long before they had kings of their own, did God begin to teach his people what respect was due unto them. Yea, when one day, contrary to Gods appointment, they would go up that way, which the day before they had refused at his commandment to go, God punished their presumption, and suffered them to be chased by their enemies as bees. *Num.* 14.40, &c. *Deut.* 2.1,26,&c.

By this I suppose it may sufficiently appear, that your general rule for the choice of means to be used for the compassing of ends intended, is not so generally true, but that it may meet with some exceptions, and therefore the practise thereof may have need to be limited with cautions.

Sect. XIV.

Means effectually conducible to any end must not be used, if either unlawful in themselves, or unto those that use them.

Aff. IT is true Sr. I can say nothing to the contrary: and therefore, as you have discovered the necessity of cautions in this kind, so I pray you be pleased further to inform me what they are?

Judg. The cautions I conceive may be easily collected out of the former instances: yet for better evidence I shall not think much to answer your desire, and offer to your consideration these particulars,

First, whatever means you have a mind of your self, or are by others advised, directed, perswaded, or commanded to use, as effectually conducible to any end, resolve not upon it, until you have thorowly tryed and examined the law-

lawfulneſs of it, both in it ſelf and unto you. For you may not do the leaſt evil of purpoſe to obtain the greateſt good, *Rom.* 3.5, &c. *Job.* 13.7. Excellently St. *Auſtin* to this purpoſe, *lib. contra mendacium ad Conſentium.* cap. 7. *Intereſt quidem plurimùm, qua cauſa, quo fine, qua intentione quid fiat. Sed ea, quæ conſtat eſſe peccata, nullo bonæ cauſæ obtentu, nullo quaſi bono fine, nulla velut bona intentione facienda ſunt.* It matters much for what cauſe, to what end, with what intent a thing is done. But that which is known to be a ſin muſt not be done under any pretence of a good cauſe, nor as if it were done for any good end, or with any good intention. And a little after in the ſame Chapter. *Quis iſta dicat, niſi qui res humanas omneſq; conatur mores legeſq; ſubvertere,* &c. As if there were no readier means (as indeed there is not) utterly to undoe the world at once, to digg up the foundation of obedience to all laws, both humane and divine, and to let looſe the reins to all impiety, injuſtice and prophanes, then to ſuppoſe it lawful to do evil, that good may come thereof.

Therefore though the end be never ſo good, which is intended, though the means propounded ſeem never ſo requiſite and available unto that end, if you cannot uſe it without ſin, you muſt reſolve to let it alone; and that is, when in uſing that means, you ſhall do that, which is either unlawful in it ſelf, or elſe unlawful unto you. And that you muſt eſteem unlawful in it ſelf, which by God is forbidden unto all men in general: that unlawful unto you, which God hath forbidden to your ſelf in particular, or though not unto all men in general, yet to men of ſuch particular places and callings, eſtates and conditions, as for the preſent you are in. Thus for the firſt caſe, *Lot* ſhould not have offered to proſtitute his daughters to the Sodomites, though it were to prevent their intended violence unto the angels. Thus for the ſecond, *Saul* ſhould not have ſpared any of the cattle of the Amalekites, though it were to offer ſacrifice unto the Lord. Thus for the third, *Joab* and *Abiathar*, being ſubjects, ſhould not have followed *Adonijah*, and helped him, when he exalted

alted himſelf, ſaying, I will be King without the knowledge and conſent of *David* their ſupreme ſoveraign upon earth. Therefore *Joſeph*, inticed to lewdneſs by his Miſtris, pleads not impotence ſo much as impoſsibility, when he ſaith, *How ſhall I do this great wickedneſs, and ſin againſt God? Gen.* 39. 9. as if what he ought not he could not have done. *Laban*, though he thought he had juſt cauſe to complain of *Jacobs* dealing, and power in his hand to do him hurt, yet durſt not but forbear, becauſe God had ſaid unto him, *Take heed that thou ſpeak not unto Jacob good or bad*, *Gen.* 31, 28, 29. *Nehemiah*, though perſwaded by a Prophet to go into the Temple to ſave his life, yet would not, becauſe it was unfit for ſuch a man as he to flee. *Nehem.* 6. 10, &c.

SECT. XV.

Amongſt different opinions of what is lawful, or unlawful, neceſſary or indiffernt, in it ſelf, nothing is to be done againſt conſcience.

Aff. SUppoſe this that you ſay to be true (and I confeſſe I know nothing that can be juſtly objected againſt it.) yet you know there are many particular caſes, yea ſometimes general queſtions, not ſo certainly decided, but that different opinions concerning them are profeſſedly maintained by divers men; one condemning that as utterly unlawful, which another is confident may lawfully be done; one requiring that as abſolutely neceſſary to be done, which another is reſolved is either unlawful, or at moſt but indifferent, and in ſuch caſes what courſe ſhall I reſolve to take?

Judg. You are now indeed upon the point

point of greateſt difficulty: for reſolving whereof you muſt alwayes remember that general rule of the Apoſtle, not to do any thing againſt the dictate of your own conſcience: for even an erroneous conſcience binds, though it do not excuſe, a *toto* but a *tanto* only. And when the Apoſtle ſaith, Let every man be fully perſwaded in his own minde: and, Haſt thou faith? have it to thy ſelf before God. Happy is he, that condemneth not himſelf in that thing which he alloweth: and he that doubteth is damned if he eat: becauſe he eateth not of faith: for whatſoever is not of faith is ſin. *Rom.*4.5,22,23. By the judgement of all interpreters, I think it is agreed, that he doth not leave every man at liberty to do what he liſteth, but directly requires, that every man be perſwaded certainly of the lawfulneſs of every action, that he undertakes. Which perſwaſion of lawfulneſs (according to the ſcope of the Apoſtles ſpeech) muſt be extended not onely to the nature and eſſence of the action, but likewiſe to thoſe adherent circumſtances, the variety whereof may alter

alter the caſe: as upon what ground, to what end, with what intent it is done, and what the ſucceſs of the action either muſt, or may be. So that you muſt reſolve not to do any thing of which you are not fully perſwaded in your own conſcience, that it is lawful for you to do it; nor to leave any thing undone, whereof you are not fully perſwaded in your own conſcience, that it is not neceſſary to be done by you; whether ſimply in it ſelf, or *ex conceſſo, rebus ſic ſtantibus.* Not that the perſwaſion of your own conſcience is a ſufficient warrant to juſtifie you, either before God or man, for your doing of that, which you are confident your ſelf is lawful, or for the leaving undone that which you are ſatisfied in your ſelf is not neceſſary. For that may be neceſſary to be done by you, which you are perſwaded is not, and that may not be lawful to be done by you which you are perſwaded is. But that your own conſcience, being a power eſtabliſhed by God in your ſoul, to judge between him and you, the voice there is a law unto you: which if you tranſgreſs, by doing contrary

contrary thereunto, you are condemned of your self; and if you neglect it, by doing any thing without the direction thereof, you overrun your warrant, and act without authority.

Sect. XVI.

The right information of Conscience, concerning what is unlawful, or necessary, in it self, is to be sought for from the written word of God rightly understood and applyed.

Aff. IF then I must do nothing, but that whereof I am fully perswaded in my conscience, the main thing that I must look unto is, that my Conscience may be rightly informed, in every particular I undertake, in every thing I do, or leave undone, that so it must be, and not otherwise. But where shall I meet with that right information?

Judg. With God, if you go to him to seek it, as you ought to do, and wait upon

on him with patience, in the uſe of his means, which is his word rightly underſtood, & applyed by the direction of his holy ſpirit and according to the rules of right reaſon. It is *Solomons* advice, *Prov.* 3.5,6. *Truſt in the Lord with all thine heart: and lean not to thine own underſtanding. In all thy wayes acknowledge him, and he ſhall direct thy paths.* For, as *David* ſaith, *Pſal.* 25.8,9. *Good and upright is the Lord: therefore will he teach ſinners in the way. The meek will he guide in judgement.* Therefore *Pſal.* 119. 8, having asked the queſtion, *Wherewithal ſhall a young man cleanſe his way?* he preſently gives the anſwer himſelf, *by taking heed thereto according to thy word.* And *St. James, If any of you lack wiſdom, let him ask of God,* &c. *Jam.* 1.5, &c. And *St. Paul, All Scripture is given by inſpiration from God, and is profitable for doctrine, for reproof, for correction, for inſtruction in righteouſneſs: That the man of God may be perfect, thorowly furniſhed unto all good works.* 2 *Tim.* 3.16.17

SECT.

Sect. XVII.

Amongſt divers opinions, concerning the true underſtanding of Scripture, their doubtful differences are to be tryed by their concord and agreement with undoubted truths commonly received and agreed upon as principles.

Aff. LEt this go for granted: yet two things there are, that I muſt as well be ſatisfied in, as in the ſufficient perfection of Scripture, or elſe I ſhall be as far to ſeek as ever I was. The one is this, that divers men are of different opinions, concerning the true underſtanding of the Scriptures: and thoſe not only ignorant and ungodly men, but even thoſe that are learned and judicious, yea, religious, and ſuch as make conſcience of their wayes. And therefore when I come

come to examine any action by the touchstone of the Scripture, the soul whereof is the sense and meaning of the words, and finde it so differently rendered by divers, that both cannot possibly accord in one, what shall I doe? Let all alone untill they be agreed? Or how shall I satisfie my self, which of the two I must be guided by?

Judg. This I confess is a great inconvenience, & such as the consideration thereof may give men just occasion to break out, as St. *Austin* doth, into this passionate exclamation, *O ubi estis, fontes Lachrymarum? & quid faciemus? quò ibimus?* Or as the Prophet *Jeremiah*, *Jer. 9. 1. Oh that my head were waters, and mine eyes a fountain of tears, that I might weep day and night* (I will not say only as he doth, *for the slain of the daughter of my people*, but) for the strifes of words, the prophane and vain bablings, the oppositions of science falsly so called, the foolish and unlearned questions, yea the doubtful disputations of those men, who many times more obscure, then illustrate, what they take in hand to clear. But you must not think

think it ſtrange, it alwayes hath been, is, and ever will be ſo: ſo long as men ſee, but as thorow a glaſs darkly, they cannot expect to know any thing perfectly, but onely in part. *1 Cor.* 13. 9,12. And though ſome, in compariſon of others, may be men in underſtanding, *1 Cor.* 14. 20. yet St. *Paul* would have the Corinthians, even in himſelf, and in *Apollo*, to learn not to think of men above that which is written: that none of you, ſaith he, *be puffed up for one againſt another*, *1 Cor.* 4.6. When therefore you meet with ſuch differences, remember that direction of St. *John* 1 *John* 4. 1, &c. *Beloved, believe not every ſpirit, but try the ſpirits, whether they are of God*, &c. And the rule that he layes down to try them by, is their concordance and agreement with undoubted truths. All things in Scripture are not doubted of, or drawn into diſpute: ſome things are ſo plainly and clearly laid down, that all men, by whom the Scripture is received as the word of God, agree upon them. Let thoſe then be your ſcantlings of the reſt, and what you finde moſt agreeable to that, which is confeſt

by

by all, that cleave unto. As falſhood is alwayes inconſiſtent with truth, and contrary unto it, as light is to darkneſs; ſo good and evil can no more cloſe, and be firmly united unto one another, then diamonds unto duſt or dirt. This reducing of doubtful differences, in all matters both of opinion and practice, unto commonly received principles, generally agreed upon, and tying them to ſtand to the trial thereof, is that which *St. Paul* ſo often calls for: as *Rom.* 16.17. *Now I beſeech you, brethren, mark them which cauſe diviſions, and offences, contrary to the doctrine, which you have learned, and avoid them,* &c. 1 *Cor.* 3.11, &c. *For other foundation can no man lay, then that which is laid, Jeſus Chriſt,* &c. *Gal.* 1. 9. *If any preach any other Goſpel unto you, then that you have received, let him be accurſed:* and in other places.

Aff. I ſhall better underſtand your meaning, and the truth of this, if you will be pleaſed to illuſtrate it a little, with an inſtance or two.

Judg. That I will: and firſt for matter of opinion. You know it is much diſpu-

disputed, between the Divines of the reformed Churches and those of *Rome*, how those words of our Saviour, *Mat. 26. 26. This is my body*, must be understood: whether in respect of natural existence, or of sacramental use. To try which of these is the true meaning of the words, bring them both to those undoubted principles, which no good Christian doth or dare deny: that the body of Christ was a true natural body, conceived by the holy Ghost, born of the Virgin *Mary*: and that in the same individual body he was crucified, died, was buried, rose again from the dead, ascended into heaven, and sitteth at the right hand of God. That interpretation, which accords with these and all other principles, you may be sure is true, as the latter evidently doth; and that which is contrary to, and inconsistent with these, or any other certain principles, must needs be false: as the later apparently is. And the like may be said in other controverted points of doctrine.

Secondly, for matter of practice. It is disputed between the divines of the

reformed Churches, and those of *Rome*, how that passage of St. *Paul*, *Rom.* 13. 1, &c. *Let every soul be subject to the higher powers* &c. must be understood: whether of the subjection of all persons and causes, as well Ecclesiastical as civil, unto those Magistrates, in whom the supreme authority resides, or of civil only. To try which of these is the true meaning of the place, bring them both to those undoubted principles, which no good Christian, no nor reasonable man can deny, *Quod tibi fieri non vis, alteri ne feceris*, and *summo cuique*, which we may see attested by our Saviour, *Mat.* 7. 12. *All things whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do you even so to them.* *Mat.* 22. 21. *Render unto Cesar the things which are Cesars*: and by St. *Paul Rom.* 13. 7, 8. *Render unto all their dues*, &c. That interpretation, which accords with these principles, as the former doth, you may be sure is true: and that which is contrary to, and inconsistent with these principles, as the latter is, must needs be false: and the like may be said in other cases and questions.

Aff.

Aff. But what if I be not able to resolve of that accord or contradiction?

Judg. Such a case can hardly happen, if you seriously consider all particulars: and if it could, the equal evidence on either side, which should leave you without any certain ground of resolution, would manifest the question it self to be but vain and frivolous, and the indifferencie such, that it would be no matter at all, whether ever you resolved or no. But however, having tried all the means you can for your best information when you resolve, let it be according as you shall be led by the most convincing evidence. What is the other particular, wherein you desire to be satisfied?

Sect. XVIII.

Special immediate revelations from God, to shew what is unlawful, or necessary to our selves in particular, although useful heretofore, are neither to be expected, nor easily to be believed now.

Aff. YOu said even now, that as I must esteem that unlawful in it self which by God is forbidden unto all men in general, so I must esteem that unlawful for me, which God hath forbidden to my self in particular, or though not unto all men in general, yet unto men of such particular places and callings, estates and conditions, as for the present I am in. For the former you have told me, that my resolution must be guided by the holy Scriptures, interpreted according to the rules of right reason, and the general received princi-

ples

ples of religion: but for the latter I am yet to seek. How shal I know, that that which is lawful in it self, as not being simply forbidden by God unto all men in general, is yet unlawful for my self in particular, or that that which is not absolutely necessary, as not being by God required of all men in general, is yet necessary for my self, as being particularly required of me?

Judg. Whilst special immediate revelations were in use, as in the dayes of the Patriarchs, Prophets, and Apostles, the spirit, by which those particular instructions and directions were given, was able also sufficiently to manifest his own authority, and as well to subdue and incline the will and affections, to assent unto and imbrace the truth of such discoveries, as to enlighten the minde and understanding to apprehend the meaning of them. This made even *Balaam* to say, *If Balak would give me his house full of silver and gold, I cannot go beyond the word of the Lord my God, to do less or more. Num.* 22. 18. And the Prophet *Jeremiah*, *Jer.* 20. 9. *Then I said, I will*

not make mention of him; nor speak any more in his name. But his word was in mine heart, as a burning fire shut up in my bones, and I was weary with forbearing, and I could not stay. St *Luke* of St. *Paul* and *Timothy* saith, *That after they were come to Mysia, they assayed to go into Bithynia, but the spirit suffered them not. Acts* 16, 7. *That when Silas and Timotheus were come from Macedonia, Paul was prest in spirit, and testified unto the Jews, that Jesus was Christ, Acts* 18. 5. and St. *Paul* of himself, *that he went bound in the spirit to Jerusalem,* 20. 22. But this was extraordinary, proper unto those times, and must neither be expected now, nor easily believed either of our selves or others: although I doubt not, but that even now adayes there are some that are both deceived themselves with false perswasions, and deceive others with fair pretences, that in some particular cases they are immediately directed by the spirit of God, when indeed it is either the voice of their own corrupt hearts only, which they hearken to, or the subtile suggestions of Satan, who sometimes *transforms himself into an angel*

of

of light, and his ministers into the Apostles of Christ, and ministers of righteousness, 2 Cor. 11, 13, 14, 15. And we need not think it strange, since the holy Ghost hath so long ago expresly given warning of it. 1 *Tim.* 4. 1, &c.

Aff. Do you think there may be no special immediate revelations now adayes, whereby some men may be guided and directed themselves, and stirred up and enabled to guide and direct others in the performance of particular actions, as necessary, or effectually conducible to special ends?

Judg. I doubt not but there may, for the holy Ghost is not limited or straitned any more in respect of time, then place, but divideth severally to whom, and where, and when, and how he will, 1 *Cor.* 12. 11. But it is not ordinary now, nor easily to be believed (as I said before) either of our selves or others, for fear lest in stead of the spirit of truth and of Christ, we either be deceived our selves, or deceive others, by the spirit of error and of Antichrist.

SECT. XIX

Some directions to try the pretended revelations of private ſpirits by.

Aff. WHat directions can you give me then to try the pretended revelations and inſtructions of private ſpirits by?

Judg. Even the ſame that I mentioned before, *viz.* their accord and agreement with, or their inconſiſtent contrariety to, and contradiction of themſelves, or of the written word. The good ſpirit, the ſpirit of truth, is alwayes conſtant to it ſelf: the evil ſpirit, the ſpirit of errour is alwayes contrary either unto it ſelf, or unto the ſpirit of truth. Bring them then unto the royal ſtandard of the word, wherein the ſpirit of truth undoubtedly doth ſpeak, and try them there. It is Gods own advice to his people Iſrael by his Prophet *Iſaiah*, *Iſ.*8.19, 20.

20. And our Saviours to the Jewes. *John* 5. 39, &c.

Aff. This indeed may be a means to try such motions as proceed from private spirits by, in regard of the matter, whether it proceed from the spirit of truth, or the spirit of errour: but how shall I know in regard of the manner, whether it be by an ordinary, or by an extraordinary work of the spirit, that such motions in the minde are stirred up?

Judg. The onely means I know to this end is to consider these two things. First, the causes and occasions of such motions, as proceed from an extraordinary work of the spirit, have themselves something more then ordinary in them: as in *Gideons* incounter with the Midianites, *Judges* 7. *Jonathans* with the Philistines, 1 *Sam.* 14. *David* with *Goliah*, 1 *Sam.* 17. When the holy Ghost, in the book of *Judges*, had often said, that the spirit of the Lord came upon such or such a one, or that God raised him up to be a deliverer, and that he judged Israel, intending thereby an extraordinary, special, and immediate motion of the spirit of

God

God, whereby he was both ſtirred up, and warranted, to undertake that imployment, he addeth in the end, *In thoſe dayes there was no King in Iſrael: every man did that which was right in his own eyes*: as intimating extraordinary motions of the ſpirit to take place onely in the abſence of ordinary means. And therefore when the government was once ſetled, we hear no more of that phraſe, to import an extraordinary motion of the ſpirit ſtirring any man up to undertake and exerciſe that charge. So ſince the ſacred volume of the Scriptures is complete, for them that acknowledge the ſufficiencie thereof, to be the light of faith, and rule of life, either to expect in themſelves, or pretend unto others, extraordinary revelations now, is in effect as much, as to light a candle at noon day, and fetch water in a bucket from a ſpring to pour into, not a river onely, but the Ocean it ſelf.

Secondly, the adjuncts and effects of ſuch motions, as proceed from an extraordinary work of the ſpirit, have themſelves ſomething more then ordinary in them:

them: as in the former examples, of *Gideon*, *Jonathan*, *David*, their extraordi confidence before hand, and their ſucceſs beyond expectation afterward.

But both theſe marks may be indifferent common to all extraordinary motions of a private ſpirit, whether good or bad: and therefore that which I ſpake of before, is that which you muſt chiefly look unto, to try the ſpirits by the word of God. If by your own private ſpirit, whether ſpeaking in an ordinary or extraordinary manner, you be moved and guided to any thing that accordeth and agreeth with the written word, that hearken to, as the voice of the good ſpirit of God, and of truth: but if unto any thing contrary unto, and inconſiſtent with that word, that ſtop your ears againſt, as the voice of the evil ſpirit, of Satan, and of errour.

SECT.

SECT. XX.

What to do in ſuch things, as are neither neceſſary, nor unlawful in themſelves, nor unto us in particular, but indefinitely only unto men of ſuch particular places and callings, eſtates and conditions, as for the preſent we are in.

Aff. But what ſhall I do in the laſt place by thoſe particulars which are not by God forbidden in general unto all men, nor unto my ſelf in particular, but indefinitely, unto men of ſuch particular places and callings, eſtates and conditions, as for the preſent I am in?

Judg. All that you have to do in this caſe is, Firſt to conſider what particular place and calling, eſtate and condition, for the preſent you are in; as whether a ſuperiour in authority over,

or

or an inferiour in subjection unto others; whether poor or rich; in prosperity or in adversity, and the like. Secondly, to consider what general rules the holy Ghost in *Scripture* hath laid down, for the ordering and governing of all men, in such a particular place and calling, estate and condition, as yours is. The result of these two must be your resolution, as that which is the conclusion of a practical syllogism: whereof the proposition, or major, is given you by God in his word: the assumption, or minor, you finde by experience in your self: and can no more deny the conclusion, then you can renounce your reasonable soul, and yield your self to be a beast.

Aff. I pray you, Sr. give me an example of this, as you have done of the other particulars.

Judg. Take that of *Joab* then, though otherwise not so good a man as he should have been, yet in this an eminent pattern of loyalty. *Joab* was a subject and servant unto *David*, intrusted by him with the managing of the war against the children of *Ammon*, 2 *Sam.* 11. 1, &c.

The

The general rule for those that are in that estate and condition, wherein *Joab* then was, is not to seek their own honour to the disadvantage of the honour of them, by whom they are imployed, whose subjects and servants they are. For a son honoureth his father, and a servant his master. *Mal.* 1. 6. In consideration hereof, when *Ioab* might have perfected the victory himself in *Davids* absence, yet he will not, but sends for *David* to come and be present himself in his own person: and gives the reason, *least I take the city, and it be called after my name.* 2 *Sam.* 12. 27, 28. So 2 *Sam.* 24. when *David* bade *Ioab* number the people: though the Kings word were abominable to *Ioab*, as the phrase is, 1 *Chron.* 21. 6. that is, though *Joab* were altogether of another minde, and would have diswaded *David* from it, as a needless, or unfitting thing: yet, being an action not unlawful in it self, *Ioab* is content to yield, and the Kings word prevailed against *Ioab* and the captains of the host, and they did as they were commanded by the King. The neglect of which re-

ſpect at other times, in that he treacherouſly ſlew *Abner* and *Amaſa*, and trayterouſly attempted to advance *Adonijah* to the throne of the kingdom in *Davids* life time, without his knowledge and conſent, coſt him his life: nor could the horns of the altar protect him, though he thought to take ſanctuary in the Tabernacle of the Lord, 1 *Kings* 2. 28, &c.

Sect. XXI.

Things in themſelves indifferent may become either neceſſary, or unlawful, to inferiours, being commanded, or forbidden them by their ſuperiours.

Aff. IT ſeems then you think, that things in themſelves indifferent, as thoſe which are neither commanded nor forbidden by God, unto all men in general, may become either neceſſary, or unlawful, unto thoſe that are inferiours, being com-

commanded, or forbidden them by their superiours.

Judg. It is true, I do so: and so must you too, and every one else, that will not be an utter enemy to all humane authority & professed friend of confusion. For order is the life and soul of action, and subordination the essence of order: which can never be maintained, without authority established in those to whom of right it doth belong, both to make laws, that must be obeyed, and to exact obedience to the laws that are made.

Aff. But if by those laws there be any thing forbidden, which God hath commanded, or any thing commanded which God hath forbidden, what must they do then?

Iudg. Obey God, rather then men: for his authority is absolute and supreme originally of, and finally, for himself; theirs but subordinate and limited, of him, from him, by him, through him, to him, and for him.

Aff. But you said before, that lawfulness must be extended, not onely to the nature

nature and essence of the action, but likewise to those adherent circumstances, the variety whereof in things in themselves indifferent, may alter the case; as upon what ground, to what end, with what intent, and the like: and actions considered, not simply in themselves, but together with such adherent circumstances, are no longer indifferent to their agents, but either necessary, or unlawful; and so humane authority may seem not to extend to them; for that which is necessary may not be forbidden, and that which is unlawful may not be commanded.

Judg. It is true that you say: and if the constitutions of supreme Authority had not a special place in the determination of those adherent circumstances, there would be no use of humane laws. But when the general rules of equity, laid down in Scripture, are limited in respect of particular circumstances by humane laws, all that live under that supreme authority, by which those laws are made, are bound in conscience to submit themselves unto them: and the

neceſſity, or unlawfulneſs of actions conſidered with their adherent circumſtances, depends upon no one thing ſo much as the voice of that authority, whereby they are determined.

Aff. Is not this to make men the ſervants of men, contrary to the precept of St. *Paul*, 1 *Cor.* 7. 23. and to intangle them again with the yoak of that bondage, from which Chriſt hath made them free?

Judg. No: for the liberty wherewith Chriſt hath made men free, is not civil, but ſpiritual; and ſpiritual liberty is neither contrary to, nor inconſtent with civil ſubjection; as the Apoſtle plainly ſhewes in the next foregoing verſe, and *Gal.* 5.13. when he ſaith, *Brethren ye have been called unto liberty, onely uſe not liberty as an occaſion to the fleſh, but by love ſerve one another:* and St. *Peter* having ſaid, *Submit your ſelves unto every ordinance of man for the Lords ſake*, &c. adds, *As free, and not uſing you liberty as a cloak of maliciouſneſs, but as the ſervants of God*, 1 *Pet.* 2. 13, &c.

Aff. But you ſay that men are bound

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in conſcience to ſubmit themſelves unto thoſe laws which are made by that ſupreme authority, under which they live: and is it not ſpiritual bondage to be bound in conſcience?

Judg. If you ſpeak of ſuch ſpiritual bondage as is evil, and from which the liberty purchaſed by Chriſt hath ſet men free, all bond of conſcience is not ſpiritual bondage: for to be bound in conſcience to ſerve God in obedience, according unto his revealed will, in holineſs and righteouſneſs, is not contrary, but ſubordinate unto ſpiritual liberty, the very end for which we are delivered out of the hands of our enemies, as *Zachary* ſpeaks, *Luke* 1,74,75. But carnal liberty, to obey unrighteouſneſs, is ſpiritual bondage indeed, yea ſinful ſlavery. If Superiours command ſuch things, as are unlawful, or forbid ſuch things as are neceſſary, their inferiours are not bound in conſcience to obey them: for ſuch obedience is contrary to, and inconſiſtent with their ſpiritual liberty. But when the things commanded by ſupreme authority are not unlawful, nor the things

thereby forbidden neceſſary, thoſe that live under that authority are bound in conſcience to yield obedience: and the bond is put upon the conſcience, not by thoſe men, in whom the ſupreme humane authority reſides, but by God himſelf, from whom they receive, and under whom, for him and in his ſtead, they manage that authority; and by whom their ſubjects are commanded to ſubmit themſelves, and obey them that have the rule over them: and ſo thoſe things, which before the determination of authority were in themſelves indifferent, afterward become, either neceſſary or unlawful unto them, who owe obedience unto that authority for the Lords ſake.

SECT.

SECT. XXII.

Of paſsive obedience in ſuffering wrong patiently. Whether ſubjects, to defend themſelves, and maintain their own right, may by open violence, and force of arms, reſiſt their ſupreme Magiſtrates?

Aff. ALL this may be true of active obedience, in doing good willingly: but what will you ſay of paſsive obedience, in ſuffering wrong patiently? Are all inferiours bound in conſcience to ſubmit themſelves unto their ſuperiours, in ſuffering patiently what they inflict upon them wrongfully? May they not ſtand upon their own defence, and for the maintenance of their own right, even by open force of arms, reſiſt them?

Judg. Many men I know are of divers

minds in this particular: but if you seriously consider what arguments are urged upon either side; I think you will finde more principles of humane policy, and worldly wisdom, then rules of religion, and Christian piety, pleading for the lawful liberty of resistence, and more evidence of grace, then nature, appearing in behalf of patient suffering. Besides that of them who are most earnest to maintain the former, some are constrained to fly to such principles, as for ought I can perceive, are either false in themselves, or in the application of them tend to the utter overthrow of all good government, and take away the very foundation of all humane authority: others are forced to limit and restrain it with so many cautions, that it is difficult, if not impossible to instance any particular example, wherein they have been all observed. So that it may seem a great deal safer for subjects to suffer according to the will of God, and commit the keeping of their souls to him, in well doing, as to a faithful Creatour, as St. *Peter* speaks, 1 *Pet.* 4. 19. then to hazard

zard the miſcarriage of his good cauſe, by their own ill handling of it.

Aff. I ſee, Sr. you are not willing to expreſs you opinion in this particular ſo fully, as you have done in the reſt: and therefore, although I heartily deſire ſatisfaction in a caſe of ſuch importance, yet will I not preſs you further for it.

Judg. You need not, if you remember what I ſaid before, in my ſecond example of doubtful differences reduced unto commonly received principles, generally agreed upon. For if the caſe be ſuch, that ſubjects may, by reſiſting with force, defend their own right, againſt their Soveraigns, in whom the ſupreme authority reſides, ſo, that withall they ſhall not be in danger to offer the like wrong unto them, or to others in them, from which they deſire to defend themſelves; nor to withhold any thing from them, which is due unto them, it may be lawful; otherwiſe not: becauſe then they ſhould do contrary to thoſe general rules, *Suum, cuique*, and *Quod tibi non vis fieri, alteri ne feceris*; which no man can deny: and ſuch ſelf-contradiction

makes a man inexcuſable, as *St. Paul* tells us, *Rom.*2.1, &c. But the true reaſon why I forbear to inlarge my ſelf in this as far as in other particulars, is, becauſe the queſtion cannot well be reſolved in theſe, unleſs there were ſome particular caſe propounded in Hypotheſi, with all the ſeveral circumſtances of it, that the anſwer might be drawn accordingly. And ſuch a caſe, wherein it might be lawful for ſubjects to reſiſt their Soveraigns, in whom the ſupreme humane authority reſides (any otherwiſe, then onely by denying, withholding, and withdrawing active obedience unto their unlawful commands) I am as loath my ſelf to imagine, as it may be you are unable to give inſtance of. Yet to ſay ſome thing towards your ſatisfaction in this particular, I will firſt ſtate the queſtion, as I underſtand it, and then ſhew you ſome of the cautions, with which I finde reſiſtence for defence reſtrained and limited, by them that take upon them to maintain it lawful: which cautions if they be not duly obſerved, the ſuppoſed lawful liberty muſt by their own confeſſion ceaſe.

SECT.

Sect. XXIII.

The question stated.

First, you must consider, that the question is not of resisting wrong done by private persons, without the consent or warrant of supreme Authority: for in such a case, the rule they give holds good, *Contra quos licita est defensio per magistratum, contra eosdem est licita defensio privata in casu necessitatis, cum ea quæ fit per magistratum haberi non potest: quoniam tunc reges armant etiam privatos.* And in such a case indeed, the resistence is not against, but in the behalf of the supreme Magistrate.

Secondly, you must consider, that the question is not of resisting the supreme Magistrate by meer private men, without the consent or warrant of the ordinary power, as they call it: for this they confess were *gladium sumere a Deo & a legibus sibi non concessum.*

Thirdly, you must consider, that the question

queſtion is not of reſiſting thoſe that onely pretend, and have no juſt title to ſupreme authority: for this will eaſily be granted to be lawful; ſo that it be not done with an intent to detain that ſupreme authority from them, to whom it doth belong, or to transfer it unto others.

Fourthly, you muſt conſider, that the queſtion is not of reſiſting by refuſing, or endeavouring onely that we may not be active our ſelves in doing that which ſupreme Magiſtrates themſelves, or others by authority from them, would force us to do, and which without ſin we cannot do, or by endeavouring to reſtrain them from doing it themſelves; ſo long as that endeavour tends not, either unto the danger of their perſons, or the diminution of their authority and power otherwiſe, or take, or withhold from them any thing that of right belongs unto them: for in this caſe neither the Magiſtrate nor his authority is hurt, or hindered, but helped, and furthered. As when the King of Iſrael ſent a meſſenger to take away *Eliſhaes* head, *Eliſha* bade

bade the Elders, that ſate in his houſe with him, ſhut the door, and hold him faſt at the door. 2 *Kings* 6.32.

But the queſtion is, Whether in any caſe ſubjects of themſelves, by joynt conſent, or by the direction of inferiour magiſtrates, may lawfully reſiſt, and by force of arms defend themſelves, and one another againſt ſupreme Magiſtrates, acknowledged ſuch, and thoſe that are imployed by authority from them, yea though it be to the danger of their perſons, the diminution of their authority, and the depriving them of any thing, that otherwiſe of right they might lay claim unto. In anſwering this queſtion, they that maintain the affirmative yet limit it with theſe cautions.

SECT.

SECT. XXIV.

Cautions, with which the affirmative is limited by them that maintain it.

FIrſt, that the ſupreme Magiſtrate be actually degenerated into a tyrant, and publickly declared ſo to be: ſuch a one as doth open and intolerable injury unto his ſubjects generally; or ſeeks by violence and force to conſtrain them unto manifeſt idolatry or blaſphemy.

Secondly, that the injuſtice and violence, which they pretend to defend themſelves againſt, be manifeſtly ſuch, and great and grievous, not barely ſuſpected or ſurmiſed only, or frivolous and light.

Thirdly, that it be onely in caſe of extreme neceſſity, when the whole Common-wealth is in imminent danger to be utterly overthrown, and no other means of ſafety left, for the preſervation of

of themselves, their lives, their estates, and the liberty of their consciences.

Fourthly, that all other good means have formerly been used for his reformation, but in vain.

Fiftly, that under the pretence of religion and justice, private ends and advantages, be not aimed at, intended and sought.

Sixtly, that in all their proceedings they carefully observe such equity and moderation, that they themselves infringe not those liberties, and transgress not those laws, which they take upon them to maintain: for here that rule they give themselves must hold. *Quod justum est justè persequaris.*

Seventhly, that it be not onely intended for, but likewise accompanied with a greater publick benefit, *Ne Resp. volens vitare Charybdim incidat in Scyllam.*

When you propose a particular case of this kinde, wherein these cautions are observed, that I may take notice of all the considerable circumstances appertaining thereunto, I will tell you what I think of the lawfulness, or unlawfulness of it.

SECT.

SECT. XXV.

Exceptions to some principles, upon which they endeavour to ground their opinion, who maintain the affirmative.

Aff. YOu said even now, that some of those, who take upon them to maintain the lawfulness of resistence in this kinde, are constrained to fly to such principles, as you conceive are either false in themselves, or in the application of them tend to the utter overthrow of all good government, and to take away the very foundation of all humane authority. I pray you let me hear some instances of such principles.

Judg. One is, that the supreme Magistrate, in respect of those that are under his authority, is *major singulis*, but *minor universis*. This I take to be false: for the supreme Magistrate, as such, is *Solo Deo minor*, and unto all his subjects, not *divisim* onely, but *conjunctim* also, is in stead of

of God, who is greater then all.

Another is, that the power of government is originally in the people, & only derived from, & intruſted by them, unto the ſupreme magiſtrate. This I am perſwaded is falſe: for the power of government is originally in God, derived from, & intruſted by him, to the ſupreme magiſtrate, even then when the perſon, in whom that authority reſides, is deſigned by the people, as in elective governments, much more where the government is ſucceſſive, and hereditary. The holy Ghoſt in Scripture ſtyleth Magiſtrates the miniſters of God, and the ſervants of the Lord: but never that I know the miniſters of the people, or the ſervants of their ſubjects.

Another is, that ſubjects have an intereſt in the ſupreme Magiſtrate, which is of a far more excellent and high nature, then that intereſt, which the ſupreme Magiſtrate hath in his ſubjects. But this I am confident is falſe: for the intereſt, which the ſupreme Magiſtrate, as ſuch, hath in his ſubjects, is Gods intereſt, although not abſolute, as his is; yet ſuch as,

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however limited, he hath for God, and unto him must be answerable for his management thereof.

Another is, that *Salus populi est suprema lex*, which is a truth indeed, if rightly understood: But being so applyed, as that the people themselves, or any deputed by them, shall be esteemed competent judges of what is necessary for their own safety, without the concurrence and consent of the supreme Magistrate, tends utterly, as I conceive, to take away all authority from him, yea to loose the bands of all humane society. For if subjects shall stand no longer bound in conscience to obey their soveraigns, then they themselves shall esteem it expedient, and that it is not necessary to do otherwise, the apprehension of the like necessity may as well warrant children to withdraw their obedience from their parents, servants from their masters, yea equals their friendship and fidelity from one another. Yea, though the necessity be not really apprehended indeed, but only pretended, and this supreme law pleaded for it, and that subjects, either

ther severally or joyntly, may themselves, or by any deputed by them, be Judges of that law, against, or without the approbation and allowance of supreme Authority, *actum est de imperio*, the Magistrate must hold his estate but of courtesie, at the will and pleasure of the people; for when ever they have a minde to disobey, and finde themselves in case to make their party good, it is no more but to pretend an extraordinary case of necessity, and then they have their commission to shew, from *Salus populi est suprema lex.*

Aff. What say you then to the cases of non-age, natural disability, or captivity of the supreme Magistrate, by which there is a necessity, that his Authority, for the time, should be managed by others?

Judg. To this I could say, first, that God himself then declares the necessity, and not the people.

Secondly, that the necessity, in such cases, respects not the people immediately, but the supreme Magistrate himself.

Thirdly, That the Authority of the

ſupreme Magiſtrate, in ſuch caſes, is not managed againſt him, but for him.

But I would rather ſay, that in ſuch caſes the known laws of each particular ſtate, rather then general rules of reaſon and analogy, are to be reſorted to, and conſulted with. For in many caſes, the general rules of reaſon and analogy may indifferently be urged on either ſide: and ſupreme Magiſtrates, as well as their ſubjects, will plead extraordinary caſes, and the neceſſity of their own ſafety, both for their own and for their ſubjects ſakes.

Another is, that ſubjects are not at all obliged to their ſupreme Magiſtrates, but under condition, *viz.* ſo far forth only, as they govern aright; and that *ceſſante conditione ceſſat obligatio.* But this, if generally underſtood of all, as well paſſive as active obedience, I preſume is falſe: and if it be ſo meant, that ſubjects themſelves ſhall have authority, without the conſent of ſupreme Magiſtrates, to determine the rectitude, or irregularity of their government, and accordingly to yeild, or withdraw their

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obedience, why may not the ſame be ſaid of all inferiours to their ſuperiours, children to parents, ſervants to maſters? *Ego te meum dici tantiſper volo, dum quod te dignum eſt facis.* And what then ſhall become of all humane authority?

Aff. And what ſhall become of all the propriety, and liberty of ſubjects, if they may not lawfully defend themſelves, and by force of arms reſiſt the unjuſt violence of their governours, and remove them, or conſtrain them to reform their courſes? Yea, what ſhall become even of the law of nature, which teacheth not onely reaſonable men, but even brute beaſts, to defend themſelves, and the things they enjoy, againſt rapine and ſpoil? Much leſs may we think, that God would have whole nations left deſtitute of means, or lawful liberty by thoſe means, to defend themſelves from the violence of particular men abuſing their authority, and making their own wills and pleaſures only the rules of their Government. What is this elſe, but to let looſe the reines to a licentious, unbounded way of arbitrary govrenment,

and to teach ſupreme Magiſtrates, that they may do what they liſt?

Judg. I ſee you would fain draw me to declare my ſelf, and to tell you what I think of the lawfulneſs, or unlawfulneſs of ſubjects reſiſting, and by force of arms defending themſelves againſt ſupreme Magiſtrates, and thoſe that are put in Authority by them. But in vain: for I told you before, that I will not, and indeed cannot well tell what to reſolve of the queſtion in general, unleſs ſome ſuch particular caſe were propounded, as whereof all the ſeveral circumſtances might be ſeriouſly conſidered, and compared together. Yet for your argument, how ever the queſtion in general may ſpeed, I preſume it is ſuch, as will not ſtand under that weight you ſeek to lay upon it. For firſt, it may eaſily be retorted thus, What ſhall become of all the preeminence, propriety of prerogative, Majeſty and Soveraignty, of ſupreme Magiſtrates, if ſubjects have Authority to declare their Sovereigns actions tyrannical unjuſt, and violent, and then have lawful liberty to right, or rather to revenge them-

themſelves, and by force of arms depoſe their Sovereigns, or conſtrain them to govern ſo as pleaſeth them? Yea what ſhall become of the law of nature, which teacheth not onely reaſonable men, but even brute beaſts, not to break order by reſiſting, where they are to be ſubject, not to permit themſelves to be contemned, where they ought to be obeyed? Much leſs may we think, that God would have ſupreme Magiſtrates, who bear the image of his Majeſty, and govern for him, left to the diſcretion of their people, and deſtitute of means or lawful liberty by thoſe means, to compel them unto, and keep them in order, and to puniſh them for their diſobedience, when they perceive them minded to make their own wills and pleaſures onely the rules of their ſubjection. What is this elſe, but to let looſe the reins to a licencious, unbounded ſway of arbitrary diſobedience, and to teach ſubjects, that they may do what they liſt?

Secondly, the bounds and limits, both of the rule and government of ſupreme

Magistrates, and of the subjection and obedience of the people, that are under them, are set and determined by laws. First, by the law of God; I mean as it is revealed in his written word. Secondly, by the law of nature, I mean as it is imprinted in the minds of men, and there discovered by the light of reason. Thirdly by the law of nations: I mean those common rules and principles of commerce and society, which are generally agreed upon by all men. Fourthly, by the proper and peculiar laws of every particular state, whether fundamental, or additional, agreed upon, or made by the supreme Magistrate, either by the advice, or with the consent of the people. By all these laws the proprieties, both of supreme Magistrates, and of their subjects, the preeminence, prerogative, majesty, soveraignty, and Authority of the one, the liberty, rights, and priviledges of the other, are both defined, and defended: and unto them the defence of these, and their propriety in these, doth of right belong unto whom the defence of those laws doth belong:

belong: and that is unto them that bear the ſword, as having it put into their hands by God, and thoſe that are warranted by them that bear it, ſupreme Magiſtrates I mean, and thoſe whoſe Authority is derived from them. Of whom if it were granted, that their ſubjects might not lawfully by force of arms reſiſt them, yet would it not follow, that therefore they might do what they liſt, and had the reins of an arbitrary government left in their hands: for they would be no leſs bound by all the ſeveral ſorts of laws before named, than if their people had lawful liberty in their own hands, to puniſh them for tranſgreſſing thoſe laws. Which liberty when they aſſume unto themſelves, and plead for as lawful, they ſeem at leaſt to lay aſide the condition of inferiours, and to change places with their ſuperiours. For ſubjects, as ſubjects, can no more exerciſe the ſword of juſtice, by any authority of their own, not derived from their Sovereigns, than ſupreme Magiſtrates, as ſuch, can be accountable unto any, but to God himſelf, for the ma-

naging of that authority, which as his immediate Vicegerents and substitutes they have from him. And this is a stronger tie upon supreme Magistrates, to keep them within their bounds, then any in the world besides can be. For the force of arms, that their subjects can prepare against them, they may peradventure provide for the defeating of: but to fall into the hands of the living God is a fearful thing, against which there is, there can be no defence. The less then that subjects are allowed to right themselves against their Sovereigns, the more God himself is interested on their behalf, to revenge their wrongs, and his own, upon them that abuse his Authority. This made *David*, that he would not use the power which he had in his own hand, to right and revenge himself upon *Saul*, but left it to God, as belonging to him. *The Lord judge between me and thee, and the Lord avenge me of thee; but mine hand shall not be upon thee.* 1 *Sam.* 24. 12. Nor would he suffer *Abishai*, that was willing, and desirous to do it: *for who*, saith he, *can stretch*

forth

forth his hand against the Lords anointed, and be guiltleſs? As the Lord liveth, the Lord ſhall ſmite him, or his day ſhall come to dye, or he ſhall deſcend into battel, and periſh. 1 Sam. 26,9,10.

Some, I know, anſwer, that *David* might lawfully have ſlain *Saul*, and that his forbearing to do it was for example ſake, leſt others in imitation of him ſhould have been encouraged to kill Kings: and that it was *ſingulare & heroicum exemplum, quod hoſti pepercit, vitandi ſcandali cauſa.* But this anſwer ſeems to me to contradict, both it ſelf, and the text. To contradict it ſelf: for that which is done for example ſake, and to avoid ſcandal, is neceſſary to be done, and to do otherwiſe is unlawful: and therefore according unto this anſwer, if for nothing elſe, yet for example ſake, and to avoid ſcandal, *David* might not lawfully have ſlain *Saul*. To contradict the text: for *David* ſaith, *who?* that is, *none can ſtretch forth his hand againſt the Lords anointed and be guiltleſs*. *David* could not have lawfully done that, which at leaſt in his own opinion, no man could do

and

and be guiltleſs. But I pray you let us leave this queſtion: which hath been ſo often, and ſo much diſputed by Proteſtant Divines, againſt Anabaptiſts and Papiſts, yea by the moderater Papiſts themſelves, againſt thoſe of their own profeſſion, that call themſelves Jeſuits, and are indeed the moſt notorious incendiaries of the Chriſtian world, that it is hard to ſay any thing now to the purpoſe, which hath not been already ſaid.

SECT. XXVI.

The queſtion, whether ſubjects may reſiſt their Sovereigns, belongs not peculiarly to Kings, *or Monarchs alone, but is common unto them, with all ſupreme Magiſtrates, in what form of Government ſoever it be.*

Aff. YEt one thing I pray you, Sr. ſatisfie me in however. In that which

which you have ſaid, concerning the cautions in this caſe propounded by ſome, and principles pleaded by others, I obſerve that you have not only of purpoſe forborn to anſwer directly to the queſtion, but likewiſe to uſe the word Monarch, or King, inſtead thereof ſaying the ſupreme Magiſtrate, or Sovereign: which, if it were done purpoſely, I ſhould be glad to underſtand the reaſon of.

Judge. I confeſs I did it purpoſely: not to avoid that *odium* and prejudice which many men are too apt to entertain againſt all thoſe, whom they think to caſt ſcorn upon, when they call them Monarchiſts, or Royaliſts; for I have long ago learned to eſteem all unjuſt aſperſions, and uncharitable cenſures, worthy onely of neglect. But the reaſon why I did it was, that you might take occaſion thereupon to obſerve, that whatſoever is ſaid in this queſtion, concerning the lawfulneſs, or unlawfulneſs of ſubjects reſiſting, or defending themſelves by force of arms, belongs not peculiarly to Kings, or Monarchs alone, but is common

mon unto them, with all ſupreme Magiſtrates in what form of Govrnment ſoever it be. And therefore if to maintain the affirmative be to oppoſe Monarchical government, it muſt be as well prejudicial unto any other form: and if it be neceſſary for the preſervation of any ſtate whatſoever, to maintain the negative, it will be as neceſſary that it ſhould be maintained for the preſervation of the ſtate of *Kings*. For the diſtinction of the duties of Governours, and thoſe that are to be governed by them, equally concerns all ſtates under heaven; and the confuſion of them hath the like influence upon a Republick, as it hath upon a Monarchy: except there be this difference, that as Monarchy is a more perfect form of Government, then any other, ſo a little blemiſh may ſooner be ſeen, and will appear more odious, and dangerous in it, then in any other form, and therefore is to be the more carefully avoided.

SECT.

Sect. XXVII.

Means warranted by God, as effectually conducible to any end, must not be refused, or neglected, under any pretence to the contrary whatsoever.

Aff. LEt this then, if you please, suffice for your first caution, that before I resolve upon the use of any means, as effectually conducible to any end, I must try and examine the lawfulness of it, both in it self, and unto me. I pray you now go on unto the rest.

Fudg. The second shall be this. Whatever means is commanded by God, and warranted by his word, as effectually conducible to any end, you must not neglect or be disswaded and discouraged from the use of it, how improbable soever, yea or impossible it may seem to be, in the eye of humane sense & reason, that it will be effectually conducible

ducible, and available, unto the end it ſhould be uſed for. Thus that the walls of *Jericho* may fall down, *Joſhua* and the Iſraelites, by Gods direction, muſt compaſs the city, and go round about it with the Ark, once a day ſix dayes together, and ſeven times the ſeventh day, ſeven Prieſts muſt blow before the Ark, with ſeven trumpets of rams horns, and when they make a long blaſt, then all the people muſt ſhout with a great ſhout, *Joſ.* 6, 2, &c, and doing ſo the walls of *Jericho* fell flat before them. Thus the means to be delivered from the danger they were in by the *Caldeans*, which God by the Prophet *Jeremiah* directed *Zedekiah* and the men of *Jeruſalem*, was to go out of the city and fall to the Caldeans, *Jer.* 21.9. *Jer.* 38.17, 20. which becauſe they neglected to hearken unto, the thing that they feared fell upon them, *Jer.* 39.1. Although, as the ſame Prophet ſpeaketh, *Lam.* 4.12. *The Kings of the earth, and all the inhabitants of the world would not have believed, that the adverſary and the enemy ſhould have entred into the gates of Jeruſalem.*

Aff.

Aff. True, Sr. but theſe directions were given by ſpecial immediate revelation from God himſelf: which as you ſaid before, is not to expected now adayes, nor eaſily believed, either in our ſelves, or others. And therefore this caution, at leaſt theſe examples, may ſeem to be but of little uſe now.

Judg. If you think ſo, you are deceived: for theſe examples ſerve ſufficiently to prove the neceſſity, and excellent uſe of this caution: which is general, and reſpects not thoſe directions alone, which are given by ſpecial and immediate revelation from God, but likewiſe thoſe, which are guided by general rules recorded in his written word: the truth whereof is no leſs certain, being rightly applyed unto particular caſes now adayes, then if God himſelf from heaven ſhould utter them, as is evident by that compariſon, which St. *Peter* makes between the word of peophecie concerning Chriſt recorded in Scripture, and the voice from heaven, which they heard when they were with him in the holy mount, 2 *Pet.* 1. 18, 19. and by that

which

which our Saviour in the parable ſaith to the ſame purpoſe, *Luke* 16. 31. and more plainly to the Jews, concerning the writings of *Moſes* and his own words, *John.* 5. 47. And according unto this rule, when *Solomon* ſaith, *If the ſpirit of the ruler riſe up againſt thee: leave not thy place: for yielding pacifieth great offences. Eccl.* 10.4. how contrary ſoever that direction may ſeem to the wayes of humane wiſdom, yet it is better to obey God, by humble ſubmiſſion to, then men, how wiſe ſoever they may ſeem to be, by obſtinate oppoſition of ſupreme authority; according to the counſel of *Solomon. Eccl.* 8. 2, &c. So the particular practice of paſſive obedience, in ſuffering wrong patiently, is more agreeable unto the will of God, and a better means to advance his glory, and credit the Goſpel of Chriſt, by putting to ſilence the ignorance of fooliſh men, and winning them that obey not the word, then to reſiſt, and defend our ſelves by force againſt the conſent, and without the warrant of thoſe, in whom the ſupreme authority on earth reſides:

and

and is so warranted to be, by those general rules, that are given to this purpose, by St. *Peter* in his first Epistle, from the eleventh verse of the second to the end of the fourth Chapter: and by St. *Paul*, 1. *Tim.* 6. 1, &c. and in sundry other places: though worldly-wise men, consulting with flesh and blood, will be redy to reply, as many of our Saviours own disciples did, upon another occasion, *Joh.* 6. 60. *This is a hard saying, who can bear it?* though they should break out into open blasphemy, and say as it is reported some have done, that passive obedience is assive obedience. Of whom I doubt not but I may truely say, as St. *Peter* doth, 2 *Pet.* 2. 1, 3. *They bring upon themselves swift destruction, and their damnation slumbereth not.*

SECT.

Sect. XXVIII.

Means probably destructive of the supreme must not be used, though possibly they might be available for subordinate ends.

AND this suffice likewise for your second caution, that the means which are warranted by Gods direction, as effectually conducible to any end, must not be refused, or neglected, under any pretence whatsoever to the contrary. What shall the third be?

Judg. The third shall be this. Whatever means is effectually conducible unto any particular subordinate end, how good soever, if withal it be destructive of, or inconsistent with the supreme and general end, you must resolve to let it alone, and not to meddle with it. Thus they of *Cesarea*, and they that were of *Pauls* company, though they earnestly desired, that he would not

not go up to *Jeruſalem*, ſuppoſing that his tarrying from thence might be a means to preſerve his life and liberty, yet when they ſaw that he would not be perſwaded, as not willing to be prevented, or deprived of that opportunity, which there he might have, to do God better ſervice, in teſtifying the Goſpel of the grace of God; they *ceaſed, ſaying, The will of the Lord be done.* Acts 21. 14. On the contrary, when our Saviour began to ſhew to his diſciples that he muſt go to *Jeruſalem*, and there ſuffer and be killed, *Peter* in kindneſs would counſel him better, as he thought, ſaying, *Be it far from thee, Lord, this ſhall not be unto thee:* but he receives this ſharp reply, *Get thee behinde me, Satan, thou art an offence unto me: for thou ſavoreſt not the things that be of God, but thoſe that be of men.* Mat. 16. 21, 22, 23. And afterward, when he would needs be as buſy with his ſword to defend, as before he had been with his tongue to diſwade his maſter from danger, he meets with the like reproof again, not without a ſevere commination of revenge for his raſhneſs, *Put up*

again thy ſword into his place: for all they that take the ſword ſhal periſh with the ſword, *Mat*: 26. 52. St. *John*, the diſciple whom Jeſus loved, who leaned on his breaſt at ſupper, hath it, *Put up thy ſword into the ſheath*, *John* 18. As it he knew, that a ſubjects ſword out of the ſheath was not in its place, unleſs by Sovereign Authority it had been called forth. And our Saviour, as if he himſelf had been bound in conſcience to make reſtitution for the wrong that his ſervant had done againſt his will, heals the ſervants ear that *Peter* had cut off: and that not without a kinde of leave asking, *Suffer ye thus far*, *Luke* 22. 51. And yet I preſume no Chriſtian dares deny, but that in the exerciſe of that authority, which *Peter* then did offer to reſiſt, there was male-adminiſtration in the higheſt degree. If ever power were abuſed, it was when Chriſt himſelf was apprehended by it, yet in Chriſts own quarrel, againſt the officers of *Annas* and *Caiphas*, Chriſt himſelf ſaith to *Peter*, *Put up thy ſword into his place*, *into the ſheath*. Not that our Saviour wanted power to make his party

party good: for he adds in the next verſe, *Thinkeſt thou, that I cannot now pray to my father, and he ſhall preſently give me twelve Legions of angels?* but, as it follows, *verſe.* 54. How then ſhall the Scriptures be fulfilled, that thus it muſt be? The preſervation of Chriſts liberty and life, was in it ſelf a good end, and a good particular ſubordinate end, ſo long as it ſerved for the advancement of the glory of God, the general ſupreme end, that is ſo long as his hour was not yet come, and ſo long he himſelf provided for it: but when the Scripture was to be fulfilled, which had ſaid, he ſhould be numbered amongſt the tranſgreſſours, and make his ſoul an offering for ſin, *Iſa.* 53. 10, &c. when God was to be more glorified by his death, then he would be by his life; then neither others, nor himſelf, muſt any longer interpoſe for his preſervation, and deliverance. No, not though he were provoked unto it, not onely by one of the malefactors, that was hanged, and by the ſouldiers, that crucified him, but likewiſe by the rulers, and the

people generally; and that with the ſtrongeſt inducements that invention racked on the rules of art could reach unto. He ſaved others, let him ſave himſelf, If he be the Chriſt the ſon of God. Let Chriſt the King of Iſrael deſcend now from the croſs, that we may ſee and believe. This one, How then ſhall the *Scripture* be fulfilled, that thus it muſt be? is an argument beyond them all, which Chriſt himſelf cannot anſwer any other way, but by obedient ſuffering. And that he did it, not for our ſakes onely, but for our example alſo, St. *Peter* tells us plainly 1 *Pet.* 2. 21.

SECT.

Sect. XXIX.

What means in their use are inconsistent with, or contrary to the advancement of the glory of God.

Aff. But how shall I know what means are inconsistent with, or contrary to the general supreme end of all things, the advancement of the glory of God?

Judg. By that, which I told you before, in the first caution: if they be such, as the use thereof is, either unlawful in it self, or unto you. For herein, saith our Saviour, *is my father glorified, that ye bear much fruit: so shall ye be my disciples,* John. 15.8. and the fruit that God expects from men, to the end that he be glorified by them, is obedience. 1 *Sam.* 15.22, 23. Our Saviour of himself saith, *I have glorified thee on the earth: I have finished the work, which thou gavest me to do,* John 17.4. and to his disciples, *Let your light so shine*

before men, that they may see your good works, and glorifie your Father, which is in heaven. Mat. 5. 16. So to the end that Christians may shine as lights in the world, St. *Pauls* direction to the Philippians is, *Do all things without murmurings and disputings: that ye may be blameless and harmless, the sons of God, without rebuke, in the midst of a crooked and perverse nation,* Phil. 2. 14, 15. When any thing is done agreeably unto the word of God, *which he hath magnified above all his name,* Psal. 138. 2. then his glory is advanced, But when any thing is done contrary thereunto, he is dishonoured. *Not every one that saith unto me, Lord, Lord, shall enter into the kingdom of heaven: but he that doth the will of my my father, which is in heaven.* Mat. 7. 21. *This people draweth nigh unto me with their mouth, and honoureth me with their lips: but their heart is far from me. But in vain do they worship me, teaching for doctrines the commandments of men,* Mat. 15. 8, 9. That is done to Gods dishonour, what ever it be, and under what pretence soever, which is done against the rule of his revealed will.

SECT. XXX.

Whether the glory of God may be advanced by the sins of men.

Aff. IS the glory of God then never advanced by the sins of men? Doth not St. *Paul* suppose, that the truth of God may more abound through a mans lie, unto his glory? *Rom* 3.7. and doth he not expressly say, *that where sin abounded, grace did much more abound?* *Rom.* 5.20.

Judg. It is true, that God, who in the creation brought light out of darkness, yea made all things of nothing, can when he pleaseth bring good out of evil, and raise honour to himself out of those very actions, whereby he is most of all dishonoured. Yet we cannot say properly, that his glory is advanced by any sinful action, but only that is advanced in it, or through it. Not by it, as by the cause, but in it, or through it, as the occasion

ſion. And if this were a ſufficient warrant for a man to do any thing amiſs, that God will work himſelf honour out of it, the ſame plea might ſerve to juſtiany the moſt hainous offences, and enormous crimes, that the devil himſelf can ever deviſe to tempt men to. Our rule then muſt be to enquire, not what is inconſiſtent with, or contrary to that advancement of the glory of God, which he will raiſe unto, and work out for himſelf, but which he directeth us to labour for, and would have to be aimed at, and intended by us; and that, as before, is the honour that accrews to him by our obedience.

SECT.

SECT. XXXI.

Some means sometimes probably conducible to the supreme and principal, if necessarily destructive of, or inconsistent with, a particular subordinate end, are not always to be used.

Aff. SO much for the third, that means destructive of the supreme must not be used, though they might be available for subordinate ends. What is the fourth caveat?

Judg. The fourth is this. What ever means is effectually conducible unto the supreme and general end of all things, if withal it be destructive of, or inconsistent with, the particular subordinate end, for which you stand ingaged, you must resolve to let it alone, and not to meddle with it, unless the particular subordinate end it self be such, as may be for-

forborn, without any hinderance at all unto the general ſupreme end: and unleſſe that means be ſo neceſſary, that the general ſupreme end cannot be obtained without it by any other means. Thus for them that preach the Goſpel to live of the Goſpel, is effectually conducible unto the advancement of the glory of God: who hath ordained, that he *that is taught in the word ſhould communicate unto him that teacheth him in all good things*, *Gal.6.6.* But for St. *Paul* to take wages of the Corinthians, amongſt whom he conceived it neceſſary for him to preach the Goſpel freely, was, though not unlawful in it ſelf, yet ſo unfit for him, that he reſolves *it were better for him to die, then that any man ſhould make his glorying void.* *1 Cor.9.* 15. I will onely adde one caveat more, and then I think I ſhall have ſaid all that is neceſſary for the reſolution of your ſecond queſtion, and that ſhall be this. What ever means you apprehend, or is offered unto you, as effectually conducible to any end, conſider well, whether there be not ſome

other

other effect, of another nature and of more important conſequence, likely to follow thereupon, rather then run the hazard whereof, it were better to forbear the uſe of that means unto that end, and wait the opportunity of ſome other means, that may not be ſubject to the like inconvenience. Thus *Amaziah*, intending war againſt the Edomites, thought it a good means to ſtrengthen himſelf, by hiring 100000. mighty men of valour out of Iſrael for 100000. talents of ſilver: but being warned by a man of God, that the aſſiſtance of the Iſraelites was like to bring a curſe upon the whole deſign, he rather choſe to looſe his 100000. talents of ſilver, and ſeparate the army of Iſrael to go home again, then run ſo great an hazard, as by retaining them he ſhould have done. 2 *Chron.* 25. Thus *Achiſh*, although he were confident enough of *Davids* fidelity, and thought that he and his men might do him good ſervice in his wars againſt Iſrael, yet when he was put in minde, that *David*, for his own intereſt, was likely to be an adver-

ſary

lary to them in the battel, sends him away. 1 *Sam.* 29. So though *David* had a minde to go forthwith the people to battel against *Absolom*, yet was he easily perswaded to tarry in the city, when he understood that it was better, and that the loss of half the people would not have been a matter of so great importance, as the hazzard of his person onely, 2 *Sam.* 18. 2, &c.

SECT. XXXII.

Men eminently virtuous, or notoriously vicious, how far to be trusted, and adhered unto, or shunned and declined.

Aff. SIr, I thank you: you have said so much already, to give me satisfaction in those two particulars, wherein I have desired your advice, concerning the proposal of the ends which I ought to aim at, and the choice of the means, which I should use to those ends; that now, for the other two, concerning that

esteem,

esteem, which I ought to have them in whom I observe to be richly adorned, with eminent graces, or notoriously overtaken with false opinions, or evil practises, I think I may be able to answer my self: *viz.* that I must onely so far trust and adhere unto the former, as I finde both their ends and means to be good; and onely so far forth decline and shun the latter, as I see that they either propose unto themselves some evil ends, or use bad means, of purpose to attain unto those ends, which they propose unto themselves, whether good or bad. For by your former speech I perceive, you would have nothing false or evil, embraced, nor any thing that is true and good indeed, rejected, upon any occasion, or under any pretence whatsoever; nor any thing looked upon as such, either good and true, or evil and false, out of any respect, that either partiality, or prejudice, in any kinde, can cast upon it; but only as reason ruled by religion shall manifestly make it appear to be such.

SECT.

SECT. XXXIII.

Partiality and prejudice two great occasions of confusion in the world.

Judg. YOu apprehend me rightly: and I heartily wish, that you and all others, were not onely perswaded of the necessity, but would also be carefull in your practice to make use of that rule. For the neglect (if I may not more properly say concerning some, the contempt) of this caution breeds as great a confusion in the world, as almost any thing beside: so apt men are to take all things upon trust from them, of whom they have once entertained a good opinion, and to dislike whatsoever they see proceed from them, whose persons they like not. Thus *David*, having said of *Ahimaaz* the son of *Zadok*, he is good man, presently adds, and cometh

cometh with good tidings, before he knew what the tidings were, 2 *Sam.*18. 27. And *Gedaliah* would not believe, that *Ishmael* intended any treachery towards him, though *Johanan* and all the captains of the forces, that were in the field, endeavoured to perſwade him to it, *Jer.*40.13, &c. And *Achiſh*, though to pleaſe the Lords of the Philiſtines he yeeld to caſhier *David* and his men, yet will not forgoe his good opinion of him. 1 *Sam.* 29. 6, &c. But on the contrary, *Joab* will not be perſwaded, that *Abner*, who formerly had made himſelf ſtrong for the houſe of *Saul*, came to *David* to *Hebron*, with any other intent, but onely as a ſpie to deceive him. 2 *Sam.* 3. 25. When *Saul* was once grown jealous and afraid of *David*, his own ſon *Jonathan* goes in danger of his life, if he offer but to ſpeak a good word for him, 1 *Sam.*20. 30, &c. Yea *David* himſelf miſled by the ſlanderous report of *Ziba*, will ſcarce give good *Mephiboſheth* leave to plead his own innocencie, but cuts him off from his juſt apologie, with this ſhort anſwer, *why ſpeakeſt thou any*

more of thy matters? I have said, Thou and Ziba divide the land, 2 *Sam.* 19. 29. And therefore it hath alwayes been one ſpecial point of Satans ſubtilty to garniſh errours with great names, and to caſt all the ſcorn and contempt, that poſſibly he can, upon the patrons of truth: together with an overweening opinion of ſome mens worth, to ſteal into the minds of the multitude an implicit perſwaſion, that they muſt not entertain any ſiniſter ſuſpition of any thing that is ſaid or done by them, and by infuſing into their affections, an utter diſlike of other mens perſons, to turn their ſtomachs againſt any thing, that they ſee practiſed or approved by them. Thus *Balak* makes no queſtion, but he ſhall prevail againſt Iſrael, if he have *Balaam* on his ſide: for ſaith he, *I wote that he whom thou bleſſeſt is bleſſed, and he whom thou curſeſt is curſed. Num.*22.6. And *Micah* having entertained a prieſt of his own conſecration in his houſe, ſaith, *Now I know that the Lord will do me good, ſeeing I have Levite to my Prieſt. Judg.* 17. 12, 13. Yea *Simon* the ſorcerer, giving out that himſelf was ſome

some great one, so bewitched the people of *Samaria*, that they all had regard and gave heed unto him, from the least to the greatest, saying, This man is the great power of God, *Acts* 8.9,&c. On the other side, *Ahab*, hating *Micaiah*, hath no minde to hear him, yea though he knoweth, and telleth *Jehoshaphat*, that by him they may enquire of the Lord, yet he resolves before hand he shall hear no good but evil from him, 1 *Kings* 22. 8. This made *St Paul* have so much adoe among the Corinthians, because there were some, that thought of him, as if he walked according to the flesh, and stuck not to say plainly, *His bodily presence is weak, and his speech contemptible*, 2 *Cor.* 10. 2, 10. Thus the chief Priests and Pharisees, yea even *Nathaniel*, an Israelite in whom was no guile, at first had an hard opinion of our Saviour himself, for his very countrys sake, *Search and look, for out of Galilee ariseth no Prophet*, say they, *John* 7.52. *And can there any good thing come out of Nazareth*, saith he, *John* 1.46. These as the two great rubs, that usually lie in the way of religion, I suppose St.

Paul endeavours to remove from amongst the Corinthians, when he would have them learn not to think of men above that which is written, *that none of you*, saith he, *be puffed up for one against another*, 1 *Cor.* 4. 6. And he gives the reason of that weighty charge, which he layes upon *Timothy*, to preach the word, and to be instant in season, and out of season; For saith he, *the time will come, when they will not endure sound doctrine, but after their own lusts shall they heap to themselves teachers, having itching ears: and they shall turn away their ears from the truth, and shall be turned to fables*, 2 *Tim.* 4. 3, 4. And therefore that general rule which he gives. 1 *Thes.* 5. 21. is of perpetual use, *Prove all things: hold fast that which is good.*

SECT.

Sect. XXXIV.

What difference is to be made between the opinions and practises of men eminently vertuous, and notoriously vicious.

Aff. WOuld you have men make no difference then between the opinions and practises, of those that are generally known to be orthodox, honest, and religious, and those whose credit hath already been crackt, and liable to just exception for errors and enormities, whereof they may be apparently convicted? For I presume your instances already given reach not so far, but onely to false, or vain, unjust, or ungrounded surmises and suspitions onely. Or do you think it is to no purpose, that our Saviour saith, *A good tree bringeth not forth corrupt fruit; neither doth a corrupt tree bring forth good fruit*, &c. *Luk.* 6.43, 44,45.

Judg. Yes I deny not, but there is a great difference to be made, between the opinions and practiſes of men eminently vertuous or vitious indeed; yea, if they be but generally reputed and eſteemed ſuch: but that difference muſt reach no further, but unto the firſt apprehenſion which we have of them, not to the final reſolution, whereupon we muſt ſettle, and ſet up our reſt. The conſideration of the perſons, whoſe opinions or practiſes they are, may give us juſt occaſion to ſuſpend the cenſures, which at firſt we may think them worthy of, until we have further examined and tried them. Or rather indeed for the honour that we owe to truth and holineſs, and the deteſtation which we ſhould have falſhood and wickedneſs in, we ought to do ſo. But when it comes to the upſhot, that we are to reſolve which ſide we will ſit down upon, or as our Saviour ſpeaks of the choice we would make between two maſters, whether we will hate the one, and love the other, or elſe hold to the one, and deſpiſe the other, then the

adhe-

adherent circumſtances of the perſons muſt be wholly laid aſide, and the things themſelves muſt be conſidered, as they are, or as they ought to be: otherwiſe we may be much miſtaken. An handful, yea a grain of wheat is no leſs good corn, becauſe it is covered with an heap of chaffe, and tares are tares, although they be ſhed amongſt good ſeed. Dead flies will ſend forth a ſtinking ſavour, even in the oyntment of the Apothecary: and a jewel of gold ſhould not be undervalued, although it be found in a ſwines ſnout. But it may be you look for examples rather then ſimilitudes: and the holy Ghoſt in Scripture hath furniſhed us with thoſe, as well as theſe. That mirrrour of divine, and miracle of humane wiſdom *Solomon*, even he whoſe name was called *Jedidiah*, beloved of the Lord, 2 *Sam.* 12.25. yet loved many ſtrange women, who when he was old turned away his heart after other gods, 1 *Kings* 11.1,&c. Even *Peter*, that made that famous confeſſion concerning our Saviour, *Thou art the Chriſt the ſon of the living God*, and received from him that

excellent atteſtation, *Bleſſed art thou Simon Bar-Jona, for fleſh and blood hath not revealed it unto thee, but my Father which is in heaven*: ſhortly after preſuming to adviſe his maſter, as he ſuppoſed for his own good, receives this ſharp reproof, *Get thee behinde me Satan, thou art an offence unto me: for thou ſavoureſt not the things that be of God, but thoſe that be of men*, *Mat.* 16. 16, &c. And though he ſeemed to be a pillar, yet St. *Paul*, when he ſaw that he was to be blamed, made no ſcruple to withſtand him to his face, *Gal.* 2. 9, 11. It were eaſie to be almoſt infinite in inſtances of this kinde: and to confeſs the truth, it is a more ordinary thing to finde a little folly in him, that is in reputation for wiſdom and honor, as *Solomon* ſpeaks, *Eccleſ.* 10. 1. then to obſerve in them, that are notoriouſly evil, any thing worthy of praiſe and imitation. And yet we are not altogether deſtitute of examples to that purpoſe. Even *Balaam* that loved the wages of unrighteouſneſs, 2 *Pet.* 2. 15. yet bleſſed Iſrael more then once, *Num.* 23. and 24. *Ahab*, that did ſell himſelf to work wick-

wickedneſs, and did very abominably in following idols, yet took ſo to heart the judgements threatened againſt him and his houſe by the Prophet *Elijah, that he rent his clothes, and put ſackcloth upon his fleſh, and faſted, and lay in ſackcloth, and went ſoftly,* 1 *Kings* 21.25,&c. Yea upon *Elijahs* motion, he ſent unto all the children of Iſrael, and gathered the Prophets of *Baal* together unto mount *Carmel*, and permitted them by *Elijahs* direction, to be apprehended and ſlain, 1 *Kings* 18. 20, &c. *Jehu* took no heed to walk in the law of the Lord God of Iſrael with all his heart: yet he deſtroyed *Baal* out of Iſrael, and did well in executing that which was right in the eyes of the Lord againſt the houſe of *Ahab*, 2 *Kings* 10.28,&c. Even *Pilate*, that condemned our Saviour, and *Judas* that betrayed him, and one of the thieves that was crucified with him, teſtified his innocence. Yea the Devil himſelf acknowledged Chriſt to be the holy one of God, *Luk.* 3. 34. and *Paul* and his companions to be the ſervants of the moſt high God, and the Goſpel

which

which they preached, the way of ſalvation, *Acts* 16.17. So hard it is, or rather impoſsible to finde any wiſdom or goodneſs upon earth ſo pure and perfect, but that there may be obſerved in it ſome courſe allay of errour, ignorance, or evil; which ought to be entertained with no more reſpect, then poyſon in a golden cup: and ſcarce is there any man ſo deſperatly given over to a reprobate mind, but that in one particular or other, at leaſt now and then, ſome beams of truth, and ſparks of honeſty, may be diſcovered in his words and actions, which ought no more to be rejected, or deſpiſed, then pearls in a dunghil to be troden under foot. And though it be true, which you alledg, *that every tree is known by his own fruit: and that out of the abundance of the heart the mouth ſpeaketh*: to which you may add that of St. *James*, *Jam.* 3. 11, 12. *Doth a fountain ſend forth, at the ſame place, ſweet water and bitter? Can a fig-tree bear olive berries? either a vine figs? ſo can no fountain both yield ſalt water and freſh.* Yet withall you muſt remember what the Prophet

Prophet *Jeremiah* ſaith, *The heart is deceitful above all things, and deſperately wicked, who can know it? Jer.* 17. 9. and St. *Paul, Gal.*6.3,4. *If a man think himſelf to be ſomthing, when he is nothing, he deceiveth himſelf. But let every man prove his own work, and then ſhall he have rejoycing in himſelf alone and not in another.* A regenerate man hath not one fountain alone in him, but two; a fountain of nature, and a fountain of grace: and that of nature is never ſo quite dried up in this life, but that it will ſometimes be dropping, if not pouring out ſome of its own ſalt bitter water. And though unregenerate men be not trees of righteouſneſs, that planting of the Lord, which bringeth forth ſpiritual fruits of grace, yet many times there may be gathered from them thoſe bloſſoms of truth, and buds of moral obedience, which a ſanctified ſervant of God, for the matter of his opinions and proctiſes, need neither be aſhamed, nor afraid to uſe: and having brought them, as metal, to the royal ſtandard of the word, and tryed them there, if the fault appear to be want of

weight

weight or fineneſs onely, he may let them paſs for good bullion, though not for currant coin. And if every tree be known by his own fruit, it is not enough to look upon the fruit, but we muſt taſt it too, that we may know what kinde the tree is of. And when we have all done, it is not the taſting of ſome fruit alone, that can aſſure us the reſt, that comes from the ſame tree, is all of the ſame kinde, unleſs withal we can certainly tell, whether the ſtock and branches all grow naturally of themſelves together, or have been graffed on: Nay rather, by the different taſt of the fruit, we may perſwade our ſelves, that either the ſap is not the ſame, wherewith it was nouriſhed, or not alike conveyed unto it.

SECT.

Sect. XXXV.

A multitude must not be followed to do evil, nor the doing of good abstained from, though it be to avoid the society of a multitude of evil doers otherwise.

Aff. THis that you say peradventure may be true concerning the opinions and practices of some few particular persons, that I should not take them upon trust from them that are generally well esteemed of, nor reject them because they come from such men, as are commonly ill reported of: but what shall I do, when I see such opinions and practises generally received, or rejected, by whole multitudes, it may be by all, that I either know or have heard of, to be such?

Judg. In such a case you have the less cause to be doubtful; but yet withall take heed you be not too confident: for

you

you must not follow a multitude to do evil; no, nor abstain from doing good, though it be to avoid the society of a multitude of evil doers otherwise. A multitude of honest well meaning men may be led aside, out of the wayes of truth and holiness, into the by-paths of errour and wickedness, by the subtil suggestions of a few deceivers: and the devil himself doth not alwayes work so powerfully in the children of disobedience, but that some good opinions and practises may be retained, even amongst whole multitudes of them. Thus for the former, ten of the twelve men, that were sent to search the land of *Canaan*, bringing up an evil report of the land, which they had searched, set all the congregation of the children of Israel on murmuring; so that *Caleb* and *Joshuah* could not stil them: yet *Moses* & *Aaron* regarded not the greater number; nay God himself took part with the two against the ten, *Numb.* 13. and 14. Two hundred men out of *Jerusalem*, that went in their simplicity, and knew not any thing, were drawn into action of rebellion against

againſt *David*, by his traiterous ſon *Abſolom: and the conſpiracy was ſtrong*, ſaith the text, *for the people increaſed continually with Abſolom*, 2 *Sam.* 15. 11, 12. One Benjamite, a man of *Belial*, *Sheba* the ſon of *Bichri*, with a blaſt of a trumpet, and a words ſpeaking, draws all the men of Iſrael, to go up from after *David*, to follow him: even then, when they were in the heat of their quarrel with the men of Judah, for pretending more intereſt in *David*, then themſelves were willing to acknowledge that they had, 2 *Sam.* 19. and 20. When *Peter* at *Antioch* withdrew, and ſeparated himſelf, fearing them that were of the circumciſion, the other Jews diſſembled likewiſe with him, inſomuch that *Barnabas* alſo was carried away with their diſſimulation: yet *St. Paul* withſtood him to his face, and ſticks not to ſay plainly, that he was to be blamed, and that they walked not uprightly according to the truth of the Goſpel, *Gal.* 2. 11, &c. So for the later, The Phariſees, though hypocrites, and ſuch as had made the word of God of none effect by their traditions:

yet

yet in the point of the resurrection were so orthodox, that in behalf thereof they make a party for St. *Paul* against the *Sadducees*, *Acts* 23,6, &c. Thus *Festus* saith, *It is not the manner of the Romans to deliver any man to die, before that he which is accused, have the accusers face to face, and have licence to answer for himself, concerning the crime layd against him*, Acts 25.16. and verse. 27. *It seemeth unto me unreasonable to send a prisoner, and not withal to signifie the crimes laid against him.* Though the Romans were in other things given up unto a reprobate minde, as St. *Paul* complains, *Rom.* 1. 28. yet this care in the publick administration of justice, to proceed, not upon suspicions or surmises, but *secundum allegata & probata*, was nothing the less commendable in them, or necessary to be practised by others. For as the same Apostle speaks, *Rom.* 2.14, 15. *When the Gentiles, which have not the law, do by nature the things contained in the law, these having not the law are a law unto themselves. Which shew the work of the law written in their hearts: their conscience also bearing witness, and their thoughts the*

mean

mean while accusing, or else excusing one another. Therefore, as it followes verse 27. *Shall not uncircumcision, which is by nature, if it fulfil the law, judge thee who by the letter and circumcision dost transgress the law?* And as our *Saviour*, *Mat.* 12. 41, 42. threateneth the Jews, that *the men of Nineve, and the Queen of the south, shall rise up in judgement with them, and condemn them; because they repented at the preaching of Jonas, and she came from the uttermost parts of the earth, to hear the wisdom of Solomon*, yet they neglected and regarded not him, though greater then *Jonas*, and greater then *Solomon*. So if we take upon us to be more sincerely affected unto truth and holiness, then other men are; and suffer our selves, in matter of opinion or practise, to be overswaied & carried away with partiality and prejudice, that we would rather sell the truth, then purchase the displeasure of them, whose persons we have in admiration because of advantage; and hazard the comfort of a good conscience, by neglecting the discharge of the necessary duties, that we owe to others, rather then incur an

unjuſt uncharitable cenſure, ſuch as the Jews caſt on our ſaviour himſelf, when they called him a friend of Publicans and ſinners, thoſe honeſt heathens ſhall riſe up in judgment againſt us, and condemn us, that ſaid, *Amicus Socrates, amicus Plato, ſed magis amica veritas*: &, *Tros Tyriuſque mihi nullo diſcrimine agetur*. Yea, we our ſelves ſhall be our own judges, either that we profeſs that which we ſhould not, becauſe we practiſe not that which we profeſs; or elſe that we practiſe not that which we we ſhould, becauſe we profeſs that which we practiſe not. And ſelf-contradiction, in what kinde ſoever, in word or deed, or both, muſt of neceſſity be ſelf-condemnation: unleſs we can produce ſome authentical charter from heaven, whereby we our ſelves are priviledged, exempted from the common condition of mankind, and allowed liberty, as often as we liſt, to new mould the nature of truth, and to make our own expedience alone the rule of our obedience both to God and man.

SECT.

SECT. XXXVI.

The Conclusion.

Aff. SIr, I thank you for this favour, in that you have thus freely imparted your minde unto me. And now methinks some of those things, which you have said, in answer unto my demands, if rightly applyed, might be of good use, for the deciding of those differences, wherewith our Church and Commonwealth are now distracted.

Judg. I doubt not but they might: and to that purpose I often make use of them my self in private, for mine own satisfaction; & so may you do, if you will. But I will not presume in a business of so great importance, to publish mine own opinion to others, unless by authority I were required, or allowed so to do. And, to deal plainly with you, I think, that though you, and I, and others, may privately seek satisfaction for our

ſelves, and finde it, according to that information which we have, yet no man can be fit for that imployment, whereby publick ſatisfaction in this caſe ſhould be offered unto all, except he be very well acquainted with every conſiderable circumſtance: and eſpecially, unleſs he be ſuch a one, as hath been honoured, and entruſted with the knowledge of thoſe *arcana imperij*, the ſacred ſecreſie whereof might ſeem to be profaned, if they ſhould be expoſed to the view of the vulgar. Therefore let us leave that reſolution of thoſe doubts, which others look for, unto them to whom of right it appertains to give it: and humbly beſeech the onely wiſe God, the fountain of all goodneſs, ſo to govern the counſels, and give ſuch a bleſſed iſſue unto the endeavours of all thoſe that ſit at the ſtern of the ſtate, to guide the great affaires of Church and Common-wealth, that the ſucceſs of all their conſultations, and actions, may be the turning of his hand upon us, purely to purge away our droſs, and take away

away all our tinn, that his reſt amongſt us may be glorious, who is the bleſſed and onely potentate, the King of Kings, and Lord of Lords: who onely hath immortality, dwelling in the light which no man can approach unto, whom no man hath ſeen, or can ſee: to whom be honour and power everlaſting. *Amen.*

A Poſtſcript.

ALthough, when I penned the precedent diſcourſe, in the year 1642. I had much occaſion to conceive, that many men were apt to be miſled, into errours and enormities, by falſe pretences and principles, by factious prejudice againſt ſome, and partiality towards others; yet I did not ſuſpect that the malady was, or would be accompanied with ſo much malignity, as ſince that time hath ſhewed it ſelf, in rendring ſome men deaf unto divine direction, and incapable of cure, by making them willingly ignorant, or rather wilfully inſenſible of their ſickneſs, and to dote upon their diſeaſes themſelves, as if they were ſigns and ſymptoms of their health: but hoped at leaſt, that gentle applications would have been ſufficient to digeſt, or to diſperſe the diſtempered humors, before they were grown to any ſetled and

and confirmed ſtrength. Therefore intending to endeavour the prevention, or diſcovery, of ſuch deceits, both in my ſelf and others, by a brief and plain repreſentation of what I thought conſiderable, in divers particulars of important concernment relating unto matters of opinion and practiſe, I reſolved to do it in the mildeſt, and moſt familiar manner that I could, even ſtriving to decline the ſpeaking out of thoſe concluſions, the premiſes whereof I ſtudied to fortifie as ſtrongly as I could, and bring mens affections to be guided by their judgments, rather then their judgements to be ſwaied by their affections. I deſired to imitate the practice of *St. Paul*, who ſaith of himſelf, 1 *Cor.* 10. 31. I *pleaſe all men in all things, not ſeeking mine own profit, but the profit of many, that they may be ſaved*, and 1 *Cor.* 9. 19, &c. *Though I be free from all men, yet have I made my ſelf ſervant to all, that I might gain the more*, &c. Or rather to obey thoſe precepts of the holy Ghoſt, by the ſame Apoſtle, *Gal.* 6. 1. *If a man be overtaken in a fault, ye which are ſpiritual reſtore ſuch a*

one in the ſpirit of meekneſs: and 2 *Tim.* 2. 24, 25. *The ſervant of the Lord muſt not ſtrive, but be gentle unto all men; apt to teach, patient: in meekneſs inſtructing thoſe that oppoſe themſelves.* But now (*Apr.* 5. 1662.) conſidering what groſs impieties have been practiſed, what deviliſh doctrines have been divulged, what horrid villanies have been acted amongſt us, ſince that time: eſpecially in the moſt execrable murther of our moſt gracious Soveraigne King *Charles* the firſt, with all the circumſtantial aggravations of it, the antecedent preparations thereunto, the concomitant adjuncts, and conſequent effects thereof: as St. *Paul deſired to be preſent with the Galatians, and to change his voice, becauſe he was in doubt of them,* Gal. 4. 20. being *afraid of them, leſt he had beſtowed upon them labour in vain,* ver. 11. and threatened the Corinthians, *that if he came again he would not ſpare,* 2 *Cor.* 13. 2. So intending to make that diſcourſe more publick by the preſs, which for almoſt twenty years ſpace hath paſſed thorow many private hands, in written copies onely, I finde my ſelf much inclined

clined, though not to alter any thing material in it, yet to change my voice, and to ſpeak out the exorbitancies of the three great wheels, upon which the motions of all our miſeries have turned, Popery, Presbytery, and Popularity, (rightly underſtood, as I have ſaid elſewhere, with relation to their rebellious principles, opinions and practiſes) ſo loud, as that thoſe who are deafeſt, if withal they be not dead in thoſe treſpaſſes and ſins, might be awakened to repentance, and thoſe that have yet any kindneſs for them, might be aſhamed of their own inadvertency, when they ſhould hear them apparently convinced of notorious guiltineſs, in thoſe four particulars, which in that diſcourſe I have endeavoured to diſſwade men from, falſe pretences and principles, factious prejudice and partiality. But conſidering withal, that much hath been done to that purpoſe already by others, eſpecially in the Myſtery of the two Juntoes, and the Hiſtory of Independency; and conceiving it very difficult at leaſt, if not almoſt impoſſible, to uſe ſharpneſs, and ſpeak bitterly

terly againſt thoſe enormities themſelves, without a particular reflexion upon ſome mens perſons, which would be a likelier means to alienate their affections, then to rectifie their underſtandings, I ſet down my reſt upon my former reſolution, and have altered nothing, either in reſpect of the notions or expreſſions, from that which I had written at firſt. Nor will I now add any thing more, but only a ſerious admonition, and earneſt exhortation, unto all them that have read, or ſhall read that diſcourſe, to conſider, how much it concerns them to take heed, that preſumptuous ſins have not dominion over them, and that they may be innocent from the great tranſgreſsion of Self-contradiction: which firſt or laſt will be ſure to bring with it ſelf-condemnation: to beware of giving credit unto falſe pretences, of building their opinions upon falſe principles, of giving entertainment unto any unjuſt, uncharitable prejudice againſt, or too indulgent partiality towards others. Eſpecially to take heed, that they do not pull down more by their practiſe then they build up by their

their profeſſion, nor by their actions bolſter up and underprop the very ſame things, which by their opinions they pretend to demoliſh and pull down. For mine own part I think, that of the three great wheels, upon which, as I ſaid before, the motions of all our miſeries have turned, it is not eaſily to be reſolved, whether Popery have been more beholding to Preſbytery, or Popularity; Preſbytery to Popularity, or Popery; Popularity to Popery, or Preſbytery: or which of the three is the greateſt enemy to Catholick Chriſtian Principality and Prelacy. But, oh, what a ſtrange kinde of Self-contradiction would it be, if thoſe that profeſs they love and honour them both, and do it indeed, ſo really and cordially, that they would not ſpare their eſtates to do them good, nor fear to adventure both limbs and lives in their defence, ſhould yet in the courſe of their converſations fight againſt them, by obſtinately diſobeying their holy, juſt, and good Commandments, and not theirs alone but Gods alſo? Out of queſtion, an Orthodox Libertine, a Schiſmatical Saint,

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an holy heretick, a covetous conformist, a proud Prelatist, a riotous Royalist, are all of them equally contradictions *in adjecto*, and each of them as odious in the sight of God & of all good men, as any of the rest: what ever success they may have for a time, at last they will finde that prediction of our Saviour true, *Every plant that my heavenly Father hath not planted shall be rooted out*, *Mat.* 15. 13. And that censure of St. *Paul* will one day fall heavily upon them all, *Therefore thou art inexcusable, O man, whosoever thou art that judgest: for wherein thou judgest another thou condemnest thyself: for thou that judgest, dost the same things*, *Rom.* 2. 1. When *Jerusalem* had grievously sinned, *Lam.* 1. 8. God in the indignation of his anger despised the King and the Priest, *Lam.* 2. 6. Nor is it only violent resisting the power of Governours, but obstinate disobeying their authority also, that tends to the depriving their people of them; and may be, if not the means whereby, yet the meritorious cause for which God may be provoked so to punish them. Subjects sometimes may say of their Soveraign,

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as the Prophet *Iſaiah* doth of our Lord and Saviour Chriſt Jeſus, though not in the ſame ſence, *Iſ.* 53. 5, 6. *He was wounded for our tranſgreſsions, he was bruiſed for our iniquities. All we like ſheep have gone aſtray, we have turned every man to his own way, and the Lord hath layd on him the iniquity of us all.* Great need we have all therefore to take heed, that none of us preſume to keep a courſe in any ſin, for fear leſt by that we ſhould, though but unwittingly againſt our wills, take part with our profeſſed enemies, Rebels and Traitors, to deprive both our ſelves and others of that happineſs, which we might all enjoy in the proſperity and peaceable government of thoſe higher powers which would be the miniſters of God to us for good, if we did well; to whom we muſt be ſubject, not for wrath, but for conſcience ſake; and for whom we are exhorted by St. *Paul*, 1 *Tim.* 2. 1, 2. *firſt of all to make ſupplications, prayers, interceſsions, and giving of thanks; that we may lead a quiet and peaceable life, in all godlineſs and honeſty*: which then onely we can hope to do, when (as the ſame Apoſtle beſeech-

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eth the Ephesians, *Eph.*4. 1, &c.) *we walk worthy of the vocation, wherewith we are called, with all lowliness and meekness, with long-suffering, forbearing one another in love: and endeavouring to keep the unity of the spirit in the bond of peace. When we are no more children tossed to and fro, and carried about with every wind of doctrine, by the slight of men, and cunning craftiness, whereby they lye in wait to deceive; but speaking the truth in love, grow up into him in all things, which is the head, even Christ:* to whom be honour and power everlasting. *Amen.*

FINIS.

ERRATA.

PAge 10. Line 5. *read* end may, *p.* 16. *l.* 9. *r.* abode. p. 23. *l.* 3. *r.* like a, *l.* 20. *r.* concluding. p. 24. *l.* 20. *r.* careleſly, *l.* 21. *r.* ſhall finde, p. 27. for Paul *r.* John, p. 33. *l.* 15. *r.* the ſame, p. 35. *l.* 4. *r.* fift. p. 39. *l.* 15. *r.* as is, p. 58. *l.* 26. *r.* therefore, p. 65. *l.* 23. *r.* former, p. 73. *l.* 20. *r.* Davids. p. 86. *l.* 16 *r.* to take, p. 87. *l.* 4. *r.* your, p. 88. *l.* 6. *r.* Theſi. p. 90. *l* 20. *r.* to take. p. 101. *l.* 8. *r.* nor. p. 110. *l.* 23. *r.* Lam. 4. 12. p. 111. *l.* 4. *r.* to be. p. 113. l. 12. *r.* yea though p. 116. *l.* 6. *r.* John. 18. 11. p. 117. *l.* 20. *r.* could. p. 119. *l.* 18. *r.* may be.